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PRESENTED

To his fellow Members

OF

THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY

BY

THE RT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,

One of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

STAFFORD'S

EXAMINATION OF COMPLAINTS.

A.D. 1581.

SERIES VI.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND.

WILLIAM STAFFORD'S

Compendious or briefe

Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints

of diuers of our Countrymen

in these our Dayes,

A.D. 1581,

(OTHERWISE CALLD

"A BRIEFE CONCEIPT OF ENGLISH POLLICY.")

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspere Society

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[This treatise by "W. S." is assignd to WILLIAM STAFFORD on the authority of Anthony Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, in the 2nd or posthumous edition of his *Ath. Oxon.* (from his notes) 1721, vol. i. col. 203, and the statement of Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspere*, 1767, "I have since observed, that Wood is not the first who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet."—*Variorum Shakspere*, 1821; vol. i. p. 346, note.]

Series VI. No. 3.

JOHN CHILDS AND SON, PRINTERS.

FOREWORDS.

Of the Elizabethan Tracts in the *Condition-of-Tudor-England-Series* which the Early English Text Society undertook at my request in 1869 (see Report, Jan. 1869, p. 17—20), one of the earliest in date was the present *Examination*, by William Stafford, of certain complaints of his countrymen in his day, A.D. 1581. The most important work was Harrison's *Description of England*, A.D. 1577—87, in Shakspere's youth, of which, Book 2 appears with this *Stafford*. The most amusing[1] was Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses, or notable Vices and Corruptions, reigning in England in 1583—95; and a reprint of this, our member Mr Richard Johnson will kindly give us this year. These volumes, together with the *Tell-troth* one—containing reprints of the unique[2] *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift*, and *Passionate Morrice*, 1593, the very rare *Tom Tel-troths Message, and his Pens Complaint*, 1600, Thomas Powell's *Tom of all Trades*, 1631, and Thos. Pritchard's[3] unique[2] *Glasse of Godly Loue*—will give a good start to our New Shakspere Society's *Shakspere's-England Series*, the sixth of the eight Series plannd for it.

This Series may of course run to an almost indefinite extent; and as the Early English Text Society has only too gladly handed over to the New Shakspere Society this portion of its work, I hope that the new Society will at least reprint the works that the old one had undertaken:

"The Complaint of England, by William Lightfoote, A.D. 1587.

"A Looking-Glasse for Englande. Wherein those enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Commonwealth &c., A.D. 1590.

[1] Dekker's *Guls Horne-Book*, 1609, was not included in the list, as Nott's edition of 1812 (? Halliwell's of 1862) was still in the market; but the book is now in Mr Henry Brown's hands to prepare for a new edition for the New Shakspere Society. Dekker's *Belman of London*, 1608, and *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1609, prig largely—as does the *Groundwork of Coneycatching*, 1592—from Harman's *Caveat*, 1567. See the edition of the latter by Mr Viles and myself, E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. xiv—xxi.

[2] Believd so to be.

[3] Or John Rogers's.

"The Mirror and Manners of Men. Written by Thomas Churchyard, Gent. 1594.

"To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The Hvmble Petition of two Sisters: the Chvrch and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, vncharitably hath taken away: Containing seven reasons as euidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge.] Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604."

Very many lighter and more amusing tracts might be added to the list. The Committee will be glad to hear of any fresh ones, and of any Members who will help, by gifts of money, to present Reprints to the Society.[1]

[1] The Early English Text Society has publisht the following Texts bearing on the Language and Social Condition of Shakspere's time :—

Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab. 1617 A.D., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4*s*. 1865.

Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, by A. J. Ellis, F.R.S. 4 parts, 10*s*. each. 1867, 1869, 1871, 1874.

Queene Elizabethes Achademy, a Book of Precedence, &c. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq, with Essays on early Italian and German Books of Courtesy, by W. M. Rossetti, Esq., and E. Oswald, Esq. 13*s*. 1869.

Awdeley's Fraternitye of Vaccabondes, 1561, Harman's Caveat, 1567, &c. (describing the different classes of Rogues). Edited by E. Viles, Esq., and F. J. Furnivall, Esq. 7*s*. 6*d*. 1869.

(Hugh Rhodes's *Book of Nurture*, 1577, Richard Weste's *Booke of Demeanor*, 1619, and F. Seager's *Schoole of Vertue*, 1557, are in the *Babees Book*, 1868.)

The Times Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., A.D. 1616, edited by J. M Cowper, Esq. (part of this gives a dark picture of the vices of the time). 6*s*. 1871.

Francis Thynne's Embleames and Epigrams, 1600, from the Earl of Ellesmere's unique MS., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 4*s*. 1876.

On the Condition of earlier Tudor England, the E. E. Text Soc. has publisht (besides Sir David Lyndesay's Works) :—

Andrew Boorde's Introduction of Knowledge, 1547, and Dyetary of Helth, 1542; with Barnes in the Defence of the Berd, 1542-3. Edited, with a Life of Boorde, and an account of his Works, by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 18*s*. 1870.

England in Henry VIII.'s Time: a Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupset, mainly on the Condition of England, written by Thomas Starkey, Chaplain to Henry VIII. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. Part II. 12*s*. 1871. (Part I., *Starkey's Life and Letters*, is in preparation.)

A Supplycacyon of the Beggers, by Simon Fish, 1528-9 A.D., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.; with A Supplication to our Moste Soueraigne Lorde; A Supplication of the Poore Commons; and The Decaye of England by the Great Multitude of Sheep. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 6*s*. 1871.

Robert Crowley's Thirty-one Epigrams, Voyce of The Last Trumpet, Way to Wealth, &c., 1550-1 A.D., edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 12*s*. 1872.

The Complaynt of Scotlande, 1549 A.D., with an Appendix of four Contemporary English Tracts, edited by J. A. H. Murray, Esq. 10*s*. 1872-1873.

Henry Brinklow's Complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray Fryre, vnto the Parliament Howse of Ingland his naturall Country, for the Redresse of

Stafford's book is not, like Harrison's, a deliberate description of the social state of England at its date (1581), but an inquiry into the causes of the dearth or dearness[1] of things then prevailing. Of the great rise in prices since his youth, Harrison too complains, and gives some interesting particulars (pp. 144, 153, 300, &c. of my edition). Harrison complains also of an occasional scarcity of supplies (p. 302); but that there was no general dearth, or scarcity in our sense, is clear from the silence of the chroniclers on the point.

The only notice in Stowe of a dearth[2] in any year near 1581, is

corten wicked Lawes, euel Customes, and cruel Decreys (ab. 1542); and The Lamentacion of a Christian against the Citie of London, made by Roderigo Mors, A.D. 1545. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 9*s*. 1874.

The Ballad Society has publisht, for Tudor England :—

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i: Ballads on the Condition of England in Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns (including the State of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars), on Wolsey, Anne Boleyn, Somerset, and Lady Jane Grey, with Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatise of a Calaunt* (ab. 1520 A.D.); ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 1860, 1872.

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. ii: The Poore Man's Pittance, by Richard Williams (1. The fall of Anthony Babington; 2. the Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, beheaded 1601; 3. the horrible Treason of the Gunpowder Plot); Ballads on Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Campion, Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, Warwick, and Bacon; the Candlewick Ballads, &c.; edited by J. F. Furnivall, M.A., and W. R. Morfill, M.A.

Captain Cox his Ballads and Books, or Robert Laneham's Letter; Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castle, in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress. 1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto hiz freend, a Citizen and Merchaunt of London. Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall, with Forewords describing all the accessible Books, Tales, and Ballads, in Captain Cox's List, and the *Complaynt of Scotland*, 1548-9 A.D (so as to show the Literature on which a man of the lower middle class in Shakspere's time was brought up).

Jyll of Braintford, The Wyll of the Deuyll, Talk of ten Wives, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

[1] This meaning of *dearth* is now lost in its second sense of 'scarcity.' The first meaning is seen in Chaucer's "Seint Gregory sayth, that precious clothing is culpable for the *derthe* of it, and for his softnesse, and for his strangenesse and disguising," *Parson's Tale*, quoted by Richardson, but not in the Ellesmere MS., or Harl. 7334. "We should then not only haue *dearth*, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties and pay deare for it." p. 47 below, l. 4 from foot.

[2] The chief dearth in Shakspere's time was in 1594-5. And as one cause of it was the great rains that fell in May, June, July, and September, 1594, and some critics date *The Midsummer Night's Dream* 1594-5, from its supposd allusion to these rains in II. i. 88-117, I print, at the end of these *Forewords*, the passages from Stowe relating to this dearth. *King John* (1595) is also supposd to allude to these rains and floods, from its storm imagery, its 'river peering o'er his bounds,' III. i. 23, its 'bated and retired flood,' V. iv. 53, &c. &c.

the following in 1574,—p. 1147, ed. 1605 (the Author's last edition) —but the rise in prices was only for a short time:[1]

An. reg. 16. 1574.

"This yeere about Lammas, wheate was sold at London for three shillings the bushell; but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, fiue shillings, sixe shillings, and before Christmas, to a noble and seuen shillings, which so continued long after: beefe was sold for twenty pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessiue price; all kinde of salt fish very deere, as fiue herrings twopence, &c., yet great plentie of fresh-fish, and oft times the same very cheape: bay salt at three shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money.

Dearth without scarcitie

p. 1149. "This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell: at which price it stayed (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare after; but bay salt was raised from three shillings to foure, fiue, and sixe shillings the bushell, the like whereof had never beene seene or heard within this realme."

Bay salt deare

Stowe's words "there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money" may be taken as telling the real state of the case [cp. p. 32 below]. But how about those who did want money, or, at any rate, those whose money didn't go so far as in former days? Well, they grumbl'd. And William Stafford, acting as Doctor or Counsellor, heard the complaints of a representative of each class —a Knight for the land-owners, a Husbandman for the farmers, a Merchant for the traders, and a Capper for the artisans—and gave his opinion on the reasonableness of their complaints, the causes of the high prices they grumbl'd at, and the remedies for these evils. In the course of this we get much valuable light thrown on the condition of England in Shakspere's youth (see especially, p. 28-9, 33-4, 36, 37, 40, 45, 50-4, 61, 63-6, 71-2, 87-91); and hence comes the reprint of Stafford's tract in our Sixth Series.[2] As Mr Matthew has

[1] Stowe notes the high prices of grain and food in 1587:—

1587. Proclamation for graine.

The queenes maiesty, foreseeing the generall *dearth* of graine, and other victuals, growne partly through the vnseasonablenesse of *the* yeares past, partly through the vncharitable greedinesse of such as be great corne maisters, but especially through the vnlawfull and ouermuch transporting of graine into forraine countries, vnder colour of licence granted, by the aduise of her honorable counsell, published a proclamation and booke of orders to be taken by her iustices for reliefe of the poore; notwithstanding all which, the excessiue prises of graine still increased, so that wheate was solde at London for 8 s. the bushell, and in some other parts of the realme, for 10.s., 12.s. 13 s. &c.

[2] Stafford is quoted several times in the well-known Sir F. M. Eden's "*State*

dealt, in his *Introduction*, with the value of the complaints and Stafford's remedies, I only refer here to my collection of extracts on the Enclosures in Tudor times, in my *Ballads from MSS.*, vol. i, p. 3-56, and to Mr J. M. Cowper's editions of *England in Henry VIII's time* and the *Supplications* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series (above, p. iv, note).

As too Stafford agrees with the Merchant (p. 27-8) in attributing the original rise of prices to the debasement of our coin by Henry VIII, I give here the extracts from Stowe relating to this base coinage, its successive falls, and final calling-in :—

(A.D. 1544.) (36 Hen. VIII.) Base money coined.

In this meane space, to wit, on the sixteenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the enhaunsing of golde to 48.s. and siluer to foure shillings the ounce. Also the king caused to be coined base moneyes in great abundance, which was since that time, to wit, in the fift yeere of King *Edward* the sixt, called doune, from 12 pence to nine pence, from 9 pence to 6 pence : and in the seconde yeere of Queene *Elizabeth* called in to her maiesties mints, and there refined.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615.

1551. First fall of the base money

The 9 of July, the base moneies (coyned in the time of King *Henry* the eight, and king *Edward* the sixt) was proclaimed, the shilling to goe for 9 pence, the groate for 3 pence : which tooke effect immediately after the proclamation was made.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 605.

Second fall of base monies.

The 17 of August, the shilling, which of late was called downe to nine pence, was called downe to 6.d., the groat to 2.d., the halfe groate to one penny, the penny to an halfe penny.—*ib.*[1]

of the Poor," 1797; and at Vol. I. p. 89 *note*, he is cited as having influenced the Legislature :

"In imposing restrictions of the exportation of wool, the Legislature seems to have adopted the principles of a political writer of the 16th century, who says, that, 'in order to make tillage as well cherished of every man as pasture, the first way is to make the wool to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the corne is ; and that shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing over sea unwrought, as yee make of corne : another is, to increase the custome of woole that passeth over unwrought ; & by that the price of it shall be abated to the breeders, & yet the price over sea shall be never the lesse.' A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, &c. by W. S. 1581 [p. 44]. This piece, in which several important branches of political science (particularly the subject of enclosures) are ably discussed in a dialogue between a merchant, a knight, a husbandman, a capper, and a doctor of divinity, has been erroneously ascribed to Shakespeare," &c. &c.

[1] On Mary's new coinages in 1553, Stowe says :

1 Mary. New Coines.

The 4 of September, was proclaimed certaine new coines of gold & siluer : a soueraigne of gold of 30.s., the halfe soueraigne 15.s., an angell of 10.s., the

The third and last fall of base money.

The 28 of September this yeere 1559, proclamation was made, that the Teston, which at first was quoyned for twelue pence, and in the raygne of K. *Edward* the sixt, had beene abated and brought downe to sixe pence, should now againe be abated and brought downe to foure pence halfe peny, being of the best sorte; and the two other sortes of Testons, being distinguished by seuerall stamps, should likewise be abated, viz. the second sort to two pence farthing; and the third sort was made of no value. And by this proclamation the olde Groat was also abated, and brought downe to two pence, and the old two pence was brought downe to a penny: these olde moneys being thus abated, the queene caused them all to bee brought into her mint, and according to the last valuation of them, shee gaue fine money of cleane siluer for them, commonly called Sterling money; and from this time there was no manner of base money quoyned or vsed in Englande,—which had beene vsuall and currant throughout this realme in all former ages,—but all English moneys were made of golde and siluer, which is not so in any other nation whatsoeuer, but [they all] haue sundry sorts of copper money.—*ib.* p. 646, col. 1, l. 30.

1561. *An. reg.* 4. New Coines.

The fifteenth of Nouember, the Queenes maiestie published a proclamation[1] for diuerse small pieces of siluer money to bee currant, as the sixe pence, foure pence, three pence, 2 pence, and a peny, three halfe pence, and 3 farthings: and also forbad all forraine coines to be currant within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them into her maiesties mint, except 2 sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemish crowne: whereupon, for the space of halfe a yeere, was weekely brought into the Tower of London, 8000, 10000, 12000, 16000, 20000, 22000, pound of siluer plates: and as much or more in pistolets, and other gold of Spanish coines; and one week, in pistolets and other Spanish golde, 26000 pound: all these to be coyned with the Queenes stamps.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 647, col. 1, l. 50.

Stafford's tract was reprinted in 1751, and its editor tri'd to prove that Shakspere (then a youth of 17, having perhaps not long left school) wrote it, full as it is, of experience, knowledge of life, and thought on the social condition of England, and its causes. This absurd notion was founded on the "W. S." of the title-page, and on Stafford's having, in his Dedication to the Queen, thankt her for her "late and singular clemency in pardoning a certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour." This was supposd to refer to Shakspere's supposd stealing of Sir Thomas Lucy's deer, which must have happend, if it hapt at all, in 1585-6. The ridiculousness of the idea was exposd

halfe angell 5.s.; of siluer, the groat, halfe groat, and penny. All base coines to be currant as before.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 616, col. 1, l. 52.

[1] See it in the Appendix, p. 100 below.

by Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspere*, p. 81-4, ed. 1821, and he showd, by a reference to Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*[1] (Pt I. col. 378, ed. Bliss), that the 'W. S. Gent:' of 1581 was a William Stafford. But that "vndutifull misdemeanour" which Stafford mentions, evidently weighd on Farmer's mind, and so, to account for it, he turnd our loyal Protestant Stafford of 1581 into a Papist traitor or a conspirator of 1587, absolutely without any reason, so far as I can see, except the chance identity of name:

"Stafford had been concerned *at that time*, and was indeed afterward, as Camden[2] and other Annalists inform us, with some of the Conspirators against Elizabeth, which he properly calls his *unduetifull behaviour*."—Farmer, p. 83-4, ed. 1821.

I can find no notice, in the *Domestic State Papers* of the time of Elizabeth, of any William Stafford being concernd in a plot against Elizabeth till 1587.[3]

[1] In Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, pt I. (at the end of vol. 2 of the *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss), col. 378, under a notice of William Stafford of Norfolk, a student of Christ Church, author of the '*Reasons of the War*,' 1644, the writer says, "Besides this Will. Stafford, was another of both his names, but before him in time, author of *A Compendium, or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Country-men in these our Days, &c. Lond.* 1581."

[2] Camden, in his *Annals of Elizabeth*, ed. 1625-29, Book iii. p. 192, says: "One William Stafford, a young gentleman, and apt to conceive strange hopes, whose mother was one of the ladies of honour, and his brother Leger in France."

[3] Jan. 7. 7. Confession of Leonard des Trappes, concerning the causes of his conspiring with M. De Bellievre, the French Ambassador, and *Mr Stafford*, to kill the Queen, and the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment.

Jan. 9. 10. "Micaell Modye his confession in the afternone the 9 January 1586." Touching his conferences with Des Trappes and the French Ambassador for taking away the life of Queen Elizabeth, either by gunpowder or by poisoning her stirrup or her shoe, or some other Italian devise.

Jan. 11. 15. "The true foundation and manner of the horrible treason," or *William Stafford's* account of his dealings with Mons. Bellievre, the French Ambassador, Des Trappes, his Secretary, and one Michael Modye, in a conspiracy to kill Queen Elizabeth. Conferences between *Stafford* and the Ambassador, Des Trappes introduced by *Stafford* to Modye in Newgate. Discussion whether to kill the Queen by poison or by laying a train of gunpowder where she lieth. Discovery of the whole plot, by *Stafford*, to Walsyngham.

Jan. 12. 16. Abstract of the above, with marginal notes in Burghley's hand.

Jan. 12. 17. Notes of the speeches between *Mr Stafford* and Des Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen.

Jan. 11. 18. Notes out of the confessions of Modye and Des Trappes relative to the plot.

Jan. 14. 21. Interrogatories, in Burghley's hand, for the examination of Des

In 3 *Notes and Queries*, ix. 375-6, Mr B. W. Greenfield of Southampton partly followd Dr Farmer, and gave the following account of a William Stafford (2), who he said was the author of the *Briefe Conceipt of English Pollicy*. But he offerd no proof of the identity of the author with the man whose biography he gave. To me the tone of Stafford's book is not that of a man of twenty-seven, who afterwards 'became a hanger-on of the court;' and I think it very improbable—almost impossible—that Anthony Wood (who baggd every possible writer and known person as an Oxford man) or his editor would have left out the fact of William Stafford the author being a fellow of New College, Oxford[1], when he actually names him, and distinguishes him from the man and writer who was his son, according to Mr Greenfield. Till further evidence is produced, I do not accept Mr Greenfield's identification.

"This William Stafford was second son of Sir William Stafford of Chebsey, Knt. (a younger son of the house of Blatherwick), by his second wife Dorothy, daughter of Henry Lord Stafford, only son of Edward, last Duke of Buckingham. He was born, March 1, 1553-4, at Rocheford, Essex, an estate of the Boleyns which came to Sir William Stafford through his first wife, Mary Boleyn, sister of Queen Ann Boleyn, and widow of William Cary, Esq. In 1564 he was admitted a scholar on the foundation at Winchester College (*Admissions Book, Winchester Coll.*). In 1571 he was matriculated

Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen, and for the examination of him out of Modye's confession.

Jan. 14. 22. Translation of the preceding interrogatories in French.

Jan. 14. 23. Notes out of the confession of Des Trappes, relative to the conspiracy to murder her Maiesty. [All these papers have been examin'd for me.]

1588, Aug. 14? 19. Certificate by the Lieutenant of the Tower, of the names of the prisoners in his custody, with the duration of their imprisonment, the Earl of Arundel, three years and four months, from the 1st of April, 1585; Secretary Wm. Davison, one year and six months, from Feb. 14, 1587. Sir Tho. Gerard, Thomas Abington, *William Stafford*, and others. [This is indorsed by Burghley "2 July 1588," but the dates clearly show it must have been in August. On the 14th of that month the Council directed a letter to Sir Owyn Hopton, Mr Daniel, Francis Bacon, and others, to command the keepers of all prisons to make a return of the names of the parties remaining under their several custodies for matters of recusancy, and to distinguish which of them were Jesuits or priests. Co Reg.] p. 531.

The only earlier mention of a Mr Stafford (not identifiable with ours) is,

1581, July 1. The Court. 62. Walsyngham to Burghley. Stay in *Mr Stafford's* suit. The strange guest (Don Antonio) had audience yesternight.

[1] Dr Sewell, the head of New College, does not know any tradition of the College Wm. Stafford having been an author.

a scholar of New College, Oxford, as a Probationary Fellow—not being of founder's kin;—in 1573 elected actual Fellow in Arts of New College, being then in his twentieth year of age; and in 1575 was deprived of his Fellowship in consequence of absenting himself from college beyond the prescribed time of absence (*Registers, New Coll.*). In 1581, was printed his[1] *Briefe Conceipte of English Policy*, in which work he 'acknowledges her maiesty's late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne his undutiful misdemeaner.' His widowed mother, Lady Dorothy Stafford, being in immediate attendance upon the person of the Queen, as a lady of the bedchamber, he became a hanger-on of the court[2]; and his elder brother Edward,

[1] Why his? Where is the evidence?

[2] What is the authority for this statement as to our W. S., &c.?

P.S. Mr Greenfield has since been good enough to send me the following letter, dated *Cranbury Terrace, Southampton*, 25 *July*, 1876, which fails of course to identify our author with the William Stafford it describes:

"I know not whence Dr Bliss derived his authority for identifying the author 'W. S.' with *William Stafford*. But, accepting that assertion, I see no reason to doubt that he was a son of Lady Dorothy Stafford. The *internal* evidence in the '*compendium*'—which I have quoted in my article in *Notes and Queries*, viz. his ackowledgment of the Queen's *clemency towards him*, is strongly in favour of the author's being a hanger-on of the Court, and coupling this with all that I show respecting Lady Dorothy's son, William Stafford, as a *Winchester College Scholar* and *New College Fellow*, leaves little [? all imaginable] room for doubt on the subject. As to Anthony à Wood's silence, there is no force in it. Note, that à Wood is altogether silent about this William Stafford. What I have said about his Winchester and New College career is altogether new, and the result of my own research, and may be implicitly relied on as fact. To what I have said in *Notes and Queries* respecting his part in the proceedings of Des Trappes, I may further refer you to the *State Papers* in the P. R. O., *Domestic Series*, Vol. 197, No. 15, for January 1586-7, in which William Stafford identifies himself with the Stafford family [but not our book] and with the Court; for he writes, as his reason for desiring to go secretly into France, 'I was discontented upon some dislike which my Lord of Leicester had conceived of me, and that I had rather live there poorlie than remain here despised of so great a man.' The French ambassador, in his reply to Stafford, says, . . . 'but in any wise you must continue in your *brother's* favour lest you be suspected.' Here is direct allusion to his elder brother, Sir Edward Stafford, who was, at the time, our *Ambassador to Paris*.

"I doubt whether Anthony à Wood knew who 'W. S.', the author of the *Compendium*, was. . . . [But his assertion is the only ground for trying to turn W. S. into Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.]

"Again, another reason for his omission in Wood's '*Fasti*' is that William Stafford does not appear to have been at Oxford long enough to have taken a University Degree. No *regularly* kept Register was extant at Oxford before 1574, which may further account for his omission by Anthony à Wood. My data are taken direct from Wykham's two Colleges at Winchester and Oxford."

in 1583, was knighted and sent as ambassador to the court of France.

"In January, 1586-7, he disclosed a plot against the queen's life, projected by Mons. Destrappes, a servant of the French ambassador (compare Harl. MSS. 36, f. 357, and 288, f. 170-1, with Camden's *Annals*, 8vo, 1630, pp. 105-6); but he was imprisoned in the Tower for the part he took therein; from whence, under date of March 19, 1588, he writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179).

"He presented to the library of Winchester College the following seven works[1]: firstly, on Aug. 22, 1601, *Concordantiæ Bibliorum*, being a concordance of the Holy Scriptures after the Latin Vulgate, fol. 1600, and '*The Common Places of Dr Peter Martyr*' translated by Anthonie Marten, one of the Sewers of hir Maiesties most honorable Privy Chamber,' fol. London 1574: secondly, on Feb. 21, 1609, a copy of *Cranmer's, or the Bishops' Bible*,—in compliance with the injunction of his mother, to whom it belonged, and who gave it to him at the time of her death, which happened on Sept. 22, 1604. This copy of the English translation of the Old and New Testaments, black-letter, fol. 1541, is in five parts, separately bound, in thin covers of vellum; and each part having a separate title-page, that of Part I only being wanting. On the outer sides of each cover is stamped, in gold lettering, 'Dorothie Stafforde.' At a sale, in August 1857, at Messrs Sotheby and Wilkinson's, a complete copy of this edition of *Cranmer's Bible* sold for 90 *l.* Thirdly, on May 30, 1612, *A General Historie of the Netherlands*, by Edward Grimeston, fol. London, 1608. This and the two following works bear his autograph written on the title-page thus: 'W. Stafforde'—*A General Inventorie of the History of France to the Treaty of Vervins in* 1598, by Ihon de Serres; translated by Edward Grimeston, fol., London, 1607; *The General Historie of the Turks*, by Richard Knolles, fol., London, 1603; and *Tortura Torti* by Lancelot Andrews, D.D., Bishop of Ely (being an answer to the treatise of Cardinal Bellarmin on King James's *Defence of the Right of Kings*), 4to, London, 1609.

"About the year 1593 he married Ann, daughter of Thomas Gryme of Antingham, Norfolk; after which time, he resided chiefly in Norfolk. He died on Nov. 16, 10 Jac. 1612 (*Inq. P. M.* 1 Car. p. 1, No. 97), leaving,—with a daughter Dorothy, who became the wife of Thomas Tyndale, Esq., of Eastwood Park, Gloucestershire, and ancestress of the Tyndales of Bathford, Somersetshire—an only son, William Stafford, who was born about Sept. 30, 1594; became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and was made M.A. March 5, 1617-8. On the death of his uncle, Sir John Stafford, Knt., *s.p.* in 1624, he succeeded to the estate of Marlwood Park, in Thornbury,

[1] Why didn't he present too his own tract, if he wrote the *Briefe Conceipt* in 1581?

Gloucestershire, under the limitations of the royal grant, dated June 5, 26 Eliz. 1584, of that property to Lady Dorothy Stafford for her life, with remainders: firstly to her younger son John, and his issue; then to her Son William, and his issue male; then to Sir Edward Stafford, Knt., her Son and heir apparent, and his issue male; then to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Dorothy (*Pat. Roll*, 26 *Eliz.* p. 16). He was the author of a little pamphlet, entitled '*Reasons of the War*, or an orderly and plain narration of the beginning and causes of the War, with a conscientious Resolution against the Parliament Side,' printed in 1644. The issue of this William Stafford became extinct in the male line on the death of his grandson Edward Stafford, Esq., *s.p.*, who died at Constantinople in August 1720. (*Decrees enrolled in Chancery*, 12 Geo. I. p. 39.) B. W. GREENFIELD, *Southampton*."

Stafford's tract was also reprinted in the ninth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

As to Stafford's rank or profession, he calls himself Gent[leman] on his title-page; and he elsewhere, as his Doctor, takes the character of a layman. If he was really one, we must admit that in his Doctor's last long speech, p. 91-7, he was speaking dramatically; for surely, only as a parson could he have there utterd what he does, or proposd a General Council, with a representative appointed for the Whore of Babylon (the Pope, p. 99), as the best means of settling the religious differences in England. He says but little of himself in his Dedication, p. 3-4 below. I can find no further trace[1] of him.

For bearing the cost of the present Reprint, the Society is indebted to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., and one of the Vice-Presidents of the New Shakspere Society. But Lord Derby is in no way responsible for the choice of the book, or any of the opinions expresst in the original edition or this Reprint. He was good enough to leave to me the application of his money gift; and he will not see the present edition till it is issued complete. In the name of all our Members I thank Lord Derby for his present to us. May other Members soon follow the example of him and Prince Leopold!

To my friend and colleague, Mr F. D. Matthew, for his valuable *Introduction*, and to my friend Miss Isabel Marshall, for her indexes, my thanks are hereby returnd.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3 *St George's Sq., N.W., July* 10, 1876.

[1] I assume that he was not the 'Wm Stafford, B.D. 1537,' who 'was prior of the Dominicans at Stamford, and, with 8 friars, surrenderd that house to the King, 7 Oct. 1538.'—Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*

Extracts from Stowe as to the Rains and Dearth in 1594-5.

Stow's Annales, continued by Edm. Howes to 1614, ed. 1615, p. 768, col. 2 :

great raynes

(36 Eliz. A.D. 1594.) This yeare in the moneth of May, fell many great showres of rayne, but in the moneths of June and July, much more: for it commonlie rained euery day, or night, till S. *James* day, and 2 dayes after together most extreamely, all which notwithstanding, in the moneth of August, there followed a faire haruest, but in the moneth of September fell great raynes, which raised high Waters, such as stayed the carriages, and bare downe Bridges, at Cambridge, Ware, and elsewhere, in many places. Also the price of grayne grew to bee such, as a strike or bushell of Rie was sold for 5.s., a bushell of Wheat for sixe, seauen, or eyght shillings, &c., for still it rose in price: which **dearth** happened (after the common opinion) more by meanes of ouermuch transporting, by our owne Marchants for their priuate gaine, than through the vnseasonablenesse of the weather passed.

Bridges at Cambridge and at Ware borne downe.

Price of graine greate, when God sends plenty.

1595. Dearth of corn & other victual.

This yeere, by meanes of the late transporting of graine into forraine countries, the same was here growne to an excessiue price, as in some places from 14 shillings to 4 markes the quarter, and more, *as the poore did feele; for all things els, whatsoeuer was sustenance for man, was likewise raised without all conscience and reason.* For remedie whereof, our marchants brought backe from Danske much Rie, and some Wheate (not of the best) but passing deare, yet serued the turne in such extremitie: Some prentises & other yoong people about the citie of London, *being pinched of their victuals more then they hadde beene accustomed*, tooke from the market people in Southwarke, butter for their money, paying for the same but three pence the pound, whereas the owners would have had 5 pence. For the which disorder, the sayd yoong men, on the twenty-seuen of June, were punished by whipping, setting on the pillorie, and long imprisonment . . . . . .

Disordered youths punished.

Dearth of victuals.

In this time of **dearth** and scarcity of victuals, at London, an hens eg was sold for a peny,—or three egs for two pence at the most,—a pound of sweet butter for 7.d., and so the like of fish or flesh, exceeding measure in price: such was our sins deseruing it.[1]

[1] The price of pepper, raisins, and wine, in 1598, we get from a passage on p. 786, col. 1 :—

An. reg. 40. Pepper 8.s. the pound.

This yeere, against Christmas, *Pepper* was solde at London for eight shillings the pounde, a matter then much noted . . . Also raysons was this yeare solde for six pence the pounde: Gascoine wine, two shillings eight pence the gallon, and sweete Wines for foure shillings the Gallon, &c.

ib. p. 782, col. 1. *An. reg.* 39. A.D. 1597. This Sommer, by reason of much rayne, and great floods, corne waxed scant, so as in London wheate was sould for tenne shillings a bushell, and Rye for six shillings, and Oate-meale at eight shillings a bushell. **A Dearth of corne.**

In this moneth of August, the price of Wheate at London fell from xiii shillings the bushell, to tenne shillings: Rie, from nine shillings to sixe shillings, and so to three shillings two pence; but then arose againe the late greatest price. **Great prizes of bred Corne.**

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p. xi. *William Stafford* (2), *Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.* The first letter from him among the Domestic State Papers is dated June 10, 1585, at Dieppe.

"Wm. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham.

"Pray stand my friend, and excuse me to my mother, who, though without cause, will be very angry with me for this sudden departure. I am now, as ever, at your command, and there is no other man living to whom I am beholden. If I should live to see my blood shed in your cause, I should think it but some recompence for the great good I have received at your hands." [Mrs Green's abstract.] Vol. of *Addenda*, Elizabeth, *Domestic State Papers*, p. 144.

In the first part of Stafford's confession, speaking of his conversation with Chasteauneuf, the French Ambassador to England, and his (W. S.'s) desire to go to France, he says: "He promised me letters of credit to those who would do me good, but said I must continue in my brother's favour, lest I should be suspected."—*Ibid.* p. 200. That his brother was Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in France, appears from the account of the conference with the French Ambassador about the discovery of the plot, *ibid.* p. 200.

A letter from Henry Smith to his brother Thos. Wilks at the Hague, Jan. 26, 1587, speaks of the "new conspiracy discovered of late;" and goes on to say that "Lady Stafford and Drury are commanded from the Court, and it is thought they will hardly be re-admitted."—*Ibid.* p. 203.

A letter from Wm. Stafford to Walsingham (making further disclosures), dated the Tower, 19th March, 1588, shows that Stafford was then still in prison (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179). A certificate by the Lieut. of the Tower, in August, 1588 (p. x, note, above), shows he was among the prisoners then.—*Ibid.* Vol. 215, 14 Aug. 1588.

In Stafford's confession or account of his dealings with the French Ambassador and others as to the plot, in conversation with Des Trappes, one of the plotters, the latter urges: "Mr Stafford, if yo*u* wold vndertake this matter, whoe live so discontentedlie as you doe, and not likelie anie way to enioye the favor and reward due vnto yo*ur* personne;" and goes on with the argument that he would gain the good will of all the Queen of Scots' allies, and a pension from the Pope.—*Ibid.* Vol. 197, 1587 (15), fo. 31.

From a list "of all such prisonners as remaine under my chardge and custodie," sent in by the Lieut. of the Tower. ? 14 August, 1588.

"January 15, 1586. Willia*m* Staffoord & Mychaell Moodie gent. p*ri*sonn*er*s one yeare vij monthes for practising with the French ambassador."

William Stafford was connected with the Queen through his father's first wife, who was Mary Boleyn, sister to Anne Boleyn the Queen's mother.

INTRODUCTION

BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW, ESQ.

In all statements of grievances it is necessary to make allowance for exaggeration, and this tract is no exception to the rule. When we come to examine closely the troubles of the different states whose members take part in this dialogue, we do not discover any very substantial wrong. The general complaint is of 'dearth,' but dearth is used throughout only in the sense of high prices. The capper has to pay high wages; the merchant finds a rise in the goods he imports, and the gentleman in those he buys; while the husbandman suffers from enhanced rents, and from the high price of implements and clothing. In the discussion we find that the only one who has a distinct loss to show is the Knight; part of whose lands are still let on old leases, so that his income is not increased in proportion to the general advance. On the other hand we see evidence that at least a part of the community was thriving, since comforts and luxuries, formerly uncommon, were now widely sold and used (p. 51). The smaller conveniences of civilized life, such as glass, china, and earthenware, watches, and ornaments of all sorts, were in the hands of people whose fathers would not have dreamed of indulging in such extravagance.[1] Serving men were fewer, since the gentry no longer needed a private guard, but they were better fed and clothed than they had been (p. 64). More was spent than formerly on the building and adornment of houses, and on furniture and hangings (p. 66). Such signs of prosperity might be delusive. A splendid court and an extravagant nobility may exist among a struggling and impoverished people. But wages had risen, while provisions do not seem to have been high; at least in relation to other things. "These many yeares past," we are told, "we had Corne good cheape inough," and there was no scarcity of meat (p. 43).

In these complaints, where high prices and costly living are

[1] Compare Harrison's *England*, Book 2, chap. 12, p. 239, &c., N. Sh. Soc.

equally prominent grievances, we recognize a kind of talk familiar enough to our own ears. In our time the gold discoveries in Russia, America and Australia have raised prices and altered some relations. Persons with fixed incomes have suffered, and grumbling has not been confined to them, but is often to be heard from those who on the whole have benefited by the fall in the precious metals. A diminution in the exchangeable value of coin, such as has marked the past 40 years, was going on in the 16th century, and it must have been felt more painfully then than now; since, not only was there the disorganization and discomfort which accompanies all social changes, but there was also a positive loss to the country as the new state of things was forced upon it. For, in one point there is a great difference in the circumstances of England now and then. At present the mercantile position of England is such that the new gold has flowed from the producing countries direct to us, and through us to the rest of the world. In the 16th century, the first European country to receive the new treasure was Spain: thence it spread over the continent, and came at last to us, mostly through Flanders. Now it is evident that for purposes of international trade, the nearer you are to the source of new treasure, and the sooner prices rise, the better. If goods have gone up in Flanders while they are still at their old price in England, we must send over our cheap goods to buy their dear ones. In time, prices will find their level, but meanwhile we are trading at a loss.[1] This was the state of things in the 16th century, and the change in prices was accordingly worse for Englishmen then than it has been in the 19th.

There is one class of men whose spokesman would have been more welcome to us in this conversation than to the well-to-do and respectable company assembled at the vintner's. A shrewd representative of the country labourer might have had more solid grievance to dilate upon than any mentioned here. The inclosures which are so strongly blamed, while they were raising the value of the returns from the soil, were pressing hard upon the labourers and cottars. It must be remembered that inclosure was not exactly the same thing then as now. At present it means usually bringing into cultivation waste or rough pasture. At that time, although proprietary rights over land were well defined, yet the effects of the ancient holding in common were much more evident than in our day. In many places the small proprietor had his plots of land

[1] Compare the remarks of the Doctor on keeping down prices (p. 83).

scattered about the common, as they had been assigned to his ancestor. No hedges protected them from cattle; indeed it would have been as difficult to fence them as it would be now to do the same thing for the holdings of the French peasant (pp. 46 and 86). When the common was to be enclosed it was necessary to get rid of these tilled lands, and the lords of manors were not always scrupulous as to the means by which they accomplished this object.[1] Moreover, the peasant driven out of his holding found it difficult to get work for himself and his family; since the pastures employed but few hands, and ploughs were being laid down on every side (p. 16). Still it is not to be supposed that the results of inclosure were altogether bad. The large demand for wool and leather made grazing profitable, while the increase of stock raised largely the return of corn on the lands still under tillage; "one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do." It is easy to imagine that in many cases small bits of arable in the hands of a poor man who had no stock were an unprofitable possession, which he was not unwilling to sell to his wealthier neighbour. We may judge that the process, in spite of individual hardship, was on the whole beneficial, by our author's own words, "we see the countryes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northamptonshyre," &c. (p. 40).

When we come to Stafford's views as to the causes and remedies of existing evils, we find a curious mixture of acuteness and prejudice. Naturally enough he believed, as every one did then, that it is desirable to gather as much gold and silver into the realm as possible. He would gladly prevent its exportation, but is shrewd enough to recognize that no laws can prevent its going where it is most called for. On the currency he shows a sanity which is not to be met with in all modern writers on the subject. In pointing out how the debasement of the coin raised prices, and still more in his clear statement of the purpose of coinage (p. 60), his explanations are admirable. His comparison with the town-seal on cloth is true and to the point. But immediately afterwards we find him straying into doubtful paths, led away by his horror of paying foreigners for work that could be done at home. If we cannot sell only for hard cash, he thinks, we should at least

[1] Ergo ut unus helluo inexplebilis ac dira pestis patriæ, continuatis agris, aliquot millia jugerum uno circundet septo, ejiciuntur coloni, quidam suis etiam, aut circumscripti fraude aut vi oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad venditionem.—*Utopia*, lib. I.

get in return for our produce something of intrinsic value as to raw material. To pay foreigners for mere work, even though they do it better and cheaper than we could at home, is a waste of treasure. Worst of all is it when we sell to foreigners our raw material and buy it back manufactured. This discussion, besides being curious as an early statement of the theories which were to govern our mercantile legislation for more than two centuries, is interesting, as showing the advantage of a large scale of manufacture and a trained body of workmen, even before the introduction of machinery. Only superior skill and a more economical use of labour can have enabled the Flemings using our own wool to undersell us in our own markets. Stafford's proposal to neutralize their advantages by Customs duties, so as at once to lessen our most profitable trade and make our cloth dearer, seems in curious contrast to the sensible advice that he gives as to free trade in corn. But the contrast is only apparent: in both cases he is a shrewd empiric, trying a quick way to ends he desires. He is nearer the mark when he attributes our weakness in manufactures[1] to the narrow exclusiveness of the trade guilds. These bodies, which served a good purpose in their first growth, and which as yet showed no signs of the splendid uselessness that awaited them, were already tainted with the common vice of corporations; regarding as their first object the selfish interests of their members, so that in their care for monopoly they refused opportunities of improvement. The strangers who "were better workmen than were any in the town" received no welcome from a guild, which cared more for its privileges than the advancement of its craft; while close organization prevented the individual master from using the skill of the new comers to forward his private interest. The smaller the community the more fatal was this exclusiveness. Great cities like Ghent or Bruges might have activity enough in their staple trades to ensure advance and improvement, but a manufacture in the hands of a few monopolists must fall into routine and decay. It was here rather than in alteration of the Customs; in greater freedom, not in more restriction, that there was a chance for England to outstrip the continental manufacturers. When religious persecution drove its victims to our shores, they brought with them instruction, which far more than repaid the hospitality they received.

[1] It is to be noticed that he says that the French are better off for manufactures than we are (p. 70), and that he counts among the things which we *must* import, iron, steel, and salt.

One other point deserves notice as showing how this dialogue reflects the current thought of the time. When the husbandman is made to attribute the advance in prices to the gentlemen who "raise the price of their lands, and take pastures and farms into their hands," he is not speaking merely at random, or from the prejudices of his order, but giving utterance to a widespread opinion. Thus we find in Brinklow's *Complaint:* "This inordinate inhansing of rentys, which is sprong up within fewe yerys past, must nedys make all things deare, as well pertaynyng to the back as to the belly, to the most gret dammage of all the kyngs subjectys, landyd men only except. Yea, and evyn thei themselves were more welthyer whan their landys went at the old pryce. For why? Thei bye all things the dearer, &c."[1] What shows most the hold of this opinion is that the Doctor, who backs up the Knight in his reply to the husbandman on this point (p. 35), himself gives way to the same fancy later, when after ascribing the rise in prices to the debased coinage, he is posed by a reminder that the coin has been restored (p. 82). It is only then, and almost unconsciously, that for a moment he hits upon the true cause of the 'dearth'; "the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes then ever our forefathers have sene in times past" (p. 82). Here, at agreement with him, I may leave Stafford to speak for himself. To call him a scientific economist would be extravagant; he was not two centuries in advance of his time; but his speculations are always acute, and in the course of them he tells us much of the England of his time.

[1] Brinklow's *Complaint*, p. 10.

A COMPENDIous or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, *of diuers of our country men* in thefe our dayes: which although they are in some part vniust & friuolous, yet are they all by vvay of dialogues throughly debated & discussed.

By W. S.
Gentleman.

IMPRINTED
at London in Fleetstreate,
neere vnto Saincte Dun-
stones Church, by Thomas Marfhe.

1581.

Cum Priuilegio.

[☞ *On the back of the original Title-page is a cut of the arms of Queen Elizabeth, of which my friend Mr G. E. Cokayne, Lancaster Herald, has kindly given me the following blazon:* "*Quarterly,* 1*st and* 4*th, France, viz.* Azure, *three fleurs de lis,* or; 2*nd and* 3*rd, England, viz.* Gules, *three lions passant guardant, in pale,* or; *the whole surrounded with the Garter, surmounted with the Crown of England.*" *The letters* 'E. R.' *are placed underneath.*

I haven't thought it worth while to get either this or the elaborate frame-work of the original Title-page itself copied and cut. The present Title-border is therefore not a facsimile, but is made up of the ornament so frequently seen in Elizabethan books. The old initials in the tract are from those us'd in my Andrew Boorde *for the Early English Text Society.*—F. J. F.]

[1]TO THE MOST VER-

[1 This pag registered

tuous and learned Lady, my most
deare and Soueraigne Princesse *ELI-*
ZABETH, by the Grace of God,
Queene of England, Fraunce, **and**
Ireland: Defendreſſe of the
Fayth. &c.

Hereas there was neuer anye thinge hearde of in any age paſt hetherunto, ſo perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that it hath at ſome time, for ſome forged and ſurmyſed matter, ſuſtayned the reprehenſion of ſome enuious perſons or other: I doe not much meruayle, moſt mighty Princeſſe, that in this your ſo noble & famous a gouernment, (the Glory whereof is now longe ſithence ſcattered and ſpread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are, notwithſtanding, certayne euill-diſpoſed people, ſo blinded with malice, and ſubdued to their owne parciall Conceiptes; that as yet they can neyther spare indifferente iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tongues to reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the ſame. But for theſe men, as they are (no doubt) ſufficiently refuted by the teſtimonies of their owne conſciences: ſo are they moſt certainely condempned by the common conſent of all ſuch as are wyſe or indifferent. And although this be of itſelfe ſo cleare and manyfeſt that it cannot bee denied, yet could not I forbeare (moſt renowmed ſoueraigne) being as it were inforced by your Maieſties late & ſingular clemency in pardoninge certayne my vndutifull miſdemeanour, but ſeeke to acknowledge your gracious goodneſſe and bounty towardes me by exhibiting vnto you this ſmall and ſimple preſent: wherein as I haue in[2]deuoured in fewe wordes to aunſwere certayne quarells and obiections dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of ſundry men, ſo doe I moſt humbly craue your Graces fauourable acceptation

[2 leaf **, b

thereof: proteſtinge alſo with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the diſcourſe of theſe matters heere diſputed, to define ought which may in any wiſe ſounde preiudiciall to any publicke authority, but only to alleadge ſuch probability as I coulde, to ſtop the mouthes of certayne euill-affected perſons, which of their curioſity require farther ſatiſfaction in theſe matters, then can well ſtand with good modeſty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaning towards your eſtate, I was earneſtly moued to vndertake this enterpriſe, and in the handlinge thereof rather content to ſhewe myſelfe vnſkilfull to others, then vnthankfull to you: ſo preſuminge of your auncient accuſtomed clemency, I was ſo bould to commit the ſame to your gracious protection, fully perſwading and aſſuring myſelf, that it would generally obtayne the better credit & entertainment among others, if your Maieſties name were prefixed, a[n]d it were a moſt rich Iewell and rare Ornament to beautifie and commend the ſame. God preſerue your Maieſty with infinit increaſe of all his bleſſings beſtowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euen far beyonde the ordinary courſe of Nature: that as you haue already ſufficiently rayghned for your owne honour and glory to laſt withall poſterities: ſo you may continew and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contentation (if it may ſo be) of vs your louing ſubiects, and to the perfect eſtabliſhing of this floriſhing peace & tranquillity in your common weale for euer.

YOVR MAIESTIES
moſt faythfull and
louing Subiect
W. S.

[1]A Table of thynges

most notable contained

in this Booke.

[1 This le registerd

Hat no man is a ſtraunger to the Commonweale that he is in. 1.a [p. 11]

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FINIS.

A Briefe conceipte touching [Fol. 1]

THE COMMON WEALE *OF THIS REALME* OF ENGLAND.

CONSIDERING THE diuerſe and ſundry complaints of our countreimen in theſe our daies, touching the great alteration of this co*m*mon wealth, within the compaſſe of theſe few yeres lately paſt, I thought good at this time to ſet downe ſuch probable diſcourſe for the occaſion hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes vttered by men of ſounde learnyng and deepe iudgement. And albeit I am not one to whome the conſideration and reformation of the ſame doth eſpecially belong; yet, knowing my ſelfe to bee a Member of the ſame Common weale, and to further it by all the wayes that poſſibly I may, I cannot recken and account my ſelfe a meere ſtrau*n*ger to this matter; no more than a man that were in a Shippe, which being in daunger of wracke, might ſay, that becauſe he is not (percaſe) the maiſter or Pylate of the ſame, the daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore, hauinge nowe ſuffycient leaſure from other buſineſſe, mee thought I coulde not apply my ſtudy to a better end then to publiſhe & make relation of ſuch matters as I haue hearde throughly diſputed herein.

No man straunger the comn weale he in.

Firſt, what thinges men are moſt grieued with; than, what ſhould bee the occaſion of the ſame; And that knowne, how ſuch greues may bee taken away, and the ſtate of the Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might well ſay, that there be men of greater wittes then I, that [1]haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the Prouerbe is) ſometimes ſpeake to the purpoſe: and, as many heads, ſo many wittes; and therefore Princes, though they bee neuer ſo wyſe themſelues, (as our moſt excellent Prynce is,) yet the wiſer that they be, the moe counſellers they will haue, (as our noble and gratious Queene doth daily make choyſe of more,) for that that one cannot

[1 Fol. 1, b

perceaue, another doth diſcouer; the giftes of wits be ſo diuerſe, that ſome excelles in Memory, ſome in Inuention, ſome in Iudgement, ſome at *the* firſt ſight ready, & ſome after long conſideration; & though each of theſe by them ſelues do not ſeuerally make perfit the matter, yet when euery man bryngs in his gyfte, a meane witted man may of all theſe (the beſt of euery mans deuiſe being gathered together) make, as it were, a pleaſaunt and perfect Garlonde, to adorne and Decke his head with all. Therefore, I would not onely haue learned men, whoſe Iudgements I would wyſhe to bee cheyfly eſteemed herein; but alſo Marchaunt men, Huſbandmen, & Artificers, which in their callinges are taken wyſe, freely ſuffered, yea, and prouoked to tell their Aduyſes in this matter. For ſome poynctes in their feates they may diſcloſe, that the wyſeſt in a Realme cannot vnfoulde againe. And it is a Maxime, or a thinge receyued as an infallible verity among all men, that euery man is to bee credited in that Arte that hee is moſt exercyſed in. For did not *Apelles*, that excellent Paynter, conſider, *that* when hee layde forth his fyne Image of *Venus* to bee ſeene of euery man *that* paſt by, to the intent, he hearing euery mans iudgement in his owne Arte, might alwayes amend that was a myſſe in his worke, whoſe Cenſures hee allowed, ſo longe as they kept them within their owne Faculties, and tooke not vppon them to meddle *with* an other mans Arte; ſo, percaſe, I may be aunſwered as hee was, yet I refuſe not that, if I paſſe [1] my compaſſe; but, for as much as moſt of this matter contayneth Pollicy, or good gouernment of a common weale, beinge a Member of Philoſophy moral, wherein I haue ſomewhat ſtudyed, I ſhall bee ſo bolde with my countreymen, who I doubt not will conſtrue euery thinge to the beſt, as to vtter my poore and ſimple *conceipt* herein, which I haue gathered out of the talke of diuers and ſundry notable men that I haue hearde reaſon on this matter; and though I ſhould herein, percaſe, moue ſome thinges that were openlye not to bee touched, as in ſuch caſes of diſceptacion is requiſite, yet, hauinge reſpect to what ende they bee ſpoken, I truſt they can offend no man; for harde were it to heale a ſoare that a man woulde not haue opened to his Phyſition, nor yet a ſurfet that a man woulde not declare the occaſion thereof. Therefore, now to goe to the matter, vppon boldneſſe of your good acceptation, that kinde of reaſoning ſeemeth to mee beſt for boultinge out of the

Of many heades is gathered a perfect counsell.

That euery man is to be credited in his owne arte.

[1 Fol 2]

Why the Booke is made by way of Dialogue.

truth, which is vſed by waye of Dialogues, or colloquyes, where reaſons bee made too and froe, as well for the matter intended, as agaynſt it. I thought beſt to take that way in the diſcourſe of this matter, which is, firſt in recounting the common and vniuerſall grieues that men complayne on now a dayes; ſecondly, in boulting out the verye cauſes and occaſions of them; thirdly and finally, in deuiſinge of remedies for all the ſame. Therefore, I will declare vnto you what communication a Knight had betweene him & certayne other perſons of late, about this matter, which, becauſe it happened betwene ſuch perſons as were Members of euery ſtate that finde themſelues grieued now a dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten, to lett you vnderſtand that the perſons were theſe: A Knight, as I ſayde firſt, a Martchaunt man, a Doctor, a Huſbandman, and a Craftes man. And firſt, the Knight rehearſed the communication in this manner enſuinge:—

The sum the whol Booke.

[Fol. 2, back]

THE FIRST DIA-LOGVE.

Knighte.

Fter I and my Fellowes, the Iuſtices of peace of this Comminalty, had the other day declared the Quenes highnes commiſſion touching diuers matters, & geuen the charge to the enqueſt; I, being both weary of the heate of the people & noyſe of the ſame, thought to ſteale to a friendes houſe of myne in the towne, which ſelles Wyne, to the intent to eate a morſell of meate, for I was then faſting, taking with me an honeſt huſbandman, whom, for his honeſt and good diſcretion, I loued very well; whither, as we were comne, & had but ſkant ſit downe in a cloſe Parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of eſtimation and ſubſtaunce, and requires the ſayde Huſbandman to goe and dyne with him; nay, (quoth I) hee wil not, I truſt, now forſake my company, though he ſhould fare better with you.

Marchaunt. Than (quoth the marchaunt man) I will ſend home for a paſty of Veniſon that I haue there, & for a friend of mine, and a neighbor, that I had bid to dinner, and wee ſhalbe ſo bolde as to make merry withall heere in your company; & as for my gueſt, hee is no ſtraunger vnto you neyther. And, therefore, both he of yours, & you of his company, I truſt wilbe the gladder.

Knight. Who is it?

Marchaunt. Doctor *Pandotheus*.

Knight. Is he ſo? on my ſayth, he ſhalbe hartely welcome, for of him we ſhal haue ſome good communication and wiſe, for he is noted a learned and a wiſe man. And immediately *the* Marchaunt ſendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, & bryn[1]geth wyth him an honeſt man, a Capper of the ſame towne, who came to ſpeake with the ſayd Marchaunt; than, after ſalutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maiſter Doctor, and renewinge olde acquayntaunce,

[1 Fol. 3]

which had bene longe before betweene vs, we ſat all downe; and when we had eate ſomewhat to ſatiſſie the ſharpneſſe of our ſtomackes,

On my fayth, quoth the Doctor to me, yee make much a doe, you that be Iuſtices of the peace of euerie Countrey, in ſitting vpon Commiſſions almoſt weekely, and in cauſinge poore men to appear before you, and leauinge theyr huſbandry vnlookte to at home. Doctor.

Surely it is ſo. Yet the prince muſt be ſerued, and the commonweale, for God and *the* prince haue not ſent vs the poore lyuinges that we haue, but to doe ſeruice therefore abrode amonges our Neyghbours. Knight.

It is well if yee take it ſo, for nature hath grafted that perſwaſion in you, and all other that followes the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remembred, ſaying, we be not borne onely to our ſelues, but partely to the vſe of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Kinſſolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neyghboures; and, therefore, all good vertues are graffed in vs naturally, whoſe effects be to doe good to other, wherein we ſhewe forth *the* Image of God and man, whoſe property is euer to doe good to other, and to diſtribute his goodneſſe abrode, lyke no Nygarde nor enuyous of any. Other creatures, as they reſemble nothing of that godly Image, ſo they ſtudy no common vtility of other, but onely the conſeruation of them ſelues, and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we looke to be reckned moſt vnlyke them, being moſt vyle, and lykeſt to God, being moſt excellent, let vs ſtudy to doe good to other, not preferring the eaſe of this Carkaſſe, which is like the Brute beaſtes, but rather the vertues of *the* minde, wherein we be lyke God him ſelfe. Doctor. Plato. Cicero. That men not borne to themselues onely.

[1]Then, (ſayd *the* Huſbandman) for all your paynes, (meaning by me) & all oures alſo, I would yee had neuer worſe Commiſſions in hand then this is. So wee had loſt more dayes workes at our Huſbandry then this. Husband. [1 Fol. 3, bac

Why ſo? Knight.

Mary, for theſe Incloſures doe vndoe vs all; for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & cauſes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage; all is taken vp for Paſture; for Paſture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grafinge of Cattell; in ſo much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes, within leſſe compaſſe then fixe Myles about mee, layde downe within this ſeuen Husband. Complaynt c Inclosures b Husbandme

yeares; and where three ſcore perſons or vpward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the leaſt cauſe of former vprores; for, by theſe Incloſures many doe lacke lyuings, and be ydle, & therefore for very neceſſity they are deſirous of a chaunge, beinge in hope to come thereby to ſomewhat, and well aſſured that howe ſo euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before; more ouer, all things are ſo deere, that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Capper.

Complaynt of dearth of vittayle by Artificers.

I haue well *the* experience thereof, for I am fayne to geue my Iourneimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they ſay they cannot ſufficiently liue thereon. And I know, for truth, that the beſt huſbande of them can ſaue but litle at the yeares end; and by reaſon of ſuch dearth as yee ſpeake of, wee, that are Artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no Prentizes, like as wee were wont to doe; and, therefore, Cityes which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy (as yee know euery one of you) are now, for lacke of occupiers, fallen to great pouerty and deſolation.

Marchaunt.

[1 Fol. 4]

Complaynt of tovvnes by Marchaunt mes & of all other common easementes.

Many superfluous charges layde dovvne and yet neuer the more plenty.

Dearth of out vvarde Marchaundize.

So bee the moſt part of all *the* townes of England, Lon[1]don onely except; and not onely the good townes are ſore decayed in there Howſes, Walles, Streates, and other buildinges, but alſo the countrey in their high wayes & Brydges; for ſuch pouerty rayneth euery where, that few men haue ſo much to ſpare, as they may geue any thing to the reparation of ſuch wayes, brydges, and other common eaſements; and, albeit there bee many thinges layde downe now which before time were occaſions of much expences, as Maygames, Wakes, Reuels, wagers at ſhooting, wreſtling, running, and throwing the ſtone or barre, & beſides that, Pardons, Pylgrimages, Offrings, and many ſuch other thinges, yet I perceyue wee bee neuer the wealthyer, but rather poorer; whereof it is longe, I cannot well tell, for there is ſuch a generall dearth of all things, as before .xx. or .xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of thinges growinge within this Realme, but alſo of all other Marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wynes, Oyles, Woode, Madder, Yron, Steele, Waxe, Flaxe, Linnen cloth, Fuſtians, Worſteddes, Couerlets, Carpets, and all Hearſes, & Tapeſtry, Spyces of all ſort; and al Haberdaſher ware, as Paper, both white & browne; Glaſſes, aſwell drinckinge and looking, as for glaſinge of Windowes; Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Dag-

gers, Hats, Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all theſe doe coſt nowe more by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe yeares agoe; than, all kinde of Victayle are as deere, or dearer agayne, & no cauſe of Gods parte thereof, as farre as I can perceaue, for I neuer ſawe more plenty of Corne, graſſe, and Cattell of all ſortes, than wee haue at this preſent, and haue had (as yee know) all theſe twenty yeares paſſed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God; if theſe Incloſures were cauſe thereof, or any other thinge els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

Dearth of all kinde of vittayle.

Synce yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne & Cat[1]tell, (as yee ſay) then it ſhould not ſeeme this dearth ſhould be longe of theſe Incloſures, for it is not for ſcarceneſſe of Corne *that* yee haue this dearth, for, thanked bee God, Corne is good cheape, and ſo hath bene theſe many yeares paſt continually. Than it cannot bee the occaſion of the dearth of Cattell, for Incloſure is the thing that nouriſheth moſt of any other; yet I confeſſe there is a wonderfull dearth of all thinges, and that do I, and all men of my ſorte, feele moſt greife in, which haue no way to ſell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our landes. For you all three,—I meane you, my neyghbour the huſbandman, you, maiſter Mercer, and you, goodman Capper, *with* other Artificers,—may ſaue your ſelues meetely well. Foraſmuch as all thinges are deerer then they were, ſo much doe you aryſe in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee ſell agayne. But we haue nothing to ſell, whereby we might aduaunce *the* pryce thereof to counterualue thoſe things that we muſt buy agayne.

Knighte.

[1 Fol. 4, bac

That inclosures be not th cause of this dearth.

That Gentlemen feele m griefe by thi dearth.

Yes, yee rayſe the price of your Landes, and yee take Fermes alſo and paſtures to your hands (which was wont to bee poore mens lyuings, ſuch as I am), and haue geuen ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

Husband.

On my ſoule, yee ſay truth (quoth the Marchaunte), and the Capper alſo ſayd no leſſe; adding thereto, that it was neuer merry with poore Crafts men ſince Gentlemen became Graſiers; for they cannot now a dayes (ſayde he) finde theyr Prentizes and ſeruauntes meate and drynke, but it coſt them almoſt double aſmuch as did before time; wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore haue dyed rych men, and bene able to leaue honeſtly

[Capper]

The complay of craftes m against Gen men for taki of Farmes.

behynde them for theyr Wyfe and Children; and befides *that*, leaue ſome notable bequeſtes for ſome good deede, as to *the* making of Brydges, & repayring of high wayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now euery where. Alſo, ſome were wont to buy Land, eyther for to helpe the poore beginners [1] of th'occupations, yea, ſome time they had ſuch ſuperfluity as they could ouer ſuch bequeſtes leaue an other Portion to finde a Pryſte, or to founde a Chauntry in ſome pariſhe Church; and now we are ſkant able to liue without debt, or to keepe ſew ſeruaunts, or none, except it be one Prentiz or two. And therefore the Iourneymen, what of our occupations, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupations, being forced to be without worke, are *the* moſt parte of theſe rude people that maketh theſe vprores abrode, to the great diſquiet, not onely of the Queenes highnes, but alſo of her people. And neede (as yee knowe) hath no booty.

[1 Vol. 5]

The craftes mans complaynt that he cannot get man a work for the Dearth of vittayle.

Marchaunt. It is true, yee knowe likewiſe what other notable acts men of myne occupation haue done in this City. Before this, yee knowe the hoſpitall at the townes ende, wherein the freemen decaied are releaued, how it was founded, not longe agoe, by one of our occupation, ſuppoſing therby *that* the city ſhould be much releaued, which then was in ſome decay; and yet it decayeth ſtill euery day more and more; whereof it ſhould be longe, I cannot well tell.

Knight. Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not without cauſe, ſo it is as true that I and my ſorte, I meane all Gentlemen, haue as greate, yea, and farre greater cauſe to complayne then any of you haue; for, as I ſayd, nowe that the pryces of thinges are ſo ryſen of all handes, you may better lyue after your degree then wee, for you may and do rayſe the pryce of your wares, as the priſes of vittayles, & other your neceſſaries doe ryſe; and ſo cannot we ſo much, for though it bee true that of ſuch landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchaſe, or by determination, and ending of ſuch termes of yeares, or other Eſtates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted them in time paſt, I doe eyther receyue a better fine than of olde was vſed; or enhaunſe the rent thereof, being forced thereto for *the* charge of my houſholde that is ſo encreaſed ouer that it was; yet in all my [2] life time I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande ſhall come to my diſpoſition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the ſame, but it ſhalbe in mere holding, either by leaſes, or by copy graunted before my time,

The Gentle mans complaynt how he can not haue lyke commodyties as he yeue vpon his due

[2 Vol. 5, back]

and ſtill continuing, and yet like to continue in the ſame ſtate for the moſt part during my life, and percaſe my Sonnes; ſo as we cannot rayſe all our wares, as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reaſon we did; and by reaſon that we cannot, ſo many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of *the* countrey of late, haue bene driuen to giue ouer our houſhoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court, vncalled, with a man and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a ſcore of cleane men in his houſe, and xx. or xxiiii. other perſons beſides, euery day in the weeke; and ſuch of vs as doe abide in the countrey ſtill, cannot with two hundreth li. a yeare keepe that houſe *that* we might haue don with CC. markes but xvi. yeares paſt. And thearefore we are forced, either to miuiſhe the third part of our houſehoulde, or to raiſe the thirde part of our reuenewes; and for that wee cannot ſo doe of our owne landes, that is allreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced, either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne poſſeſſion, or to purchaſe ſome Farme of other mens landes, and to ſtore it with ſheepe, or ſome other cattell, to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to mainetayne our oulde eſtate with all, and yet all is litle ynough.

Why Gentl men doe g ouer their housholde

Why Gent men doth Farmes in their hand

Yea, thoſe ſheepe is the cauſe of all theſe miſchieues, for they haue driuen huſbandry out of the countrey, by *the* which was increaſed before all kinde of victuals; & now all togeether, ſheepe, ſheepe, ſheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely ſheepe ynough, but allſo Oxen, Kine, ſwyn, Pig, Gooſe, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheeſe; yea, and breade Corne, and Malte corne ynough, beſides, reared alltogether vpon the ſame lande.

Husband

Complaint gainst she

Then the Doctor, *that* had leaned on his Elbowe all this [1] while muſing, ſat vp and ſayd, I perceaue by you all three, that there is none of you but haue iuſt cauſe to complaine.

Doctor.

[1 Fol. 6]

No, by my troth, except it be you, men of *the* church, which trauaile nothing for your lyuinge, and yet haue inough

Capper.

Yee ſay troth in dede, we haue leaſt cauſe to complaine: yet yee know well, we be not ſo plentious as we haue bene, the firſt fruits & tenthes are deducted of our liuings; yet of the reſt we might liue well ynough, if we might haue quietnes of minde & conſcience withall. And, albeit we labour not much with our bodies (as yee ſay,) yet yee

Doctor.

The Docto complaynt men of his calling.

know we labour with our mindes, more to the weaking of the ſame then by any other bodily exerciſe we ſhould do, as we may well perceue by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how ſaint and ſickely be our bodyes, & all for lacke of bodily exerciſe.

Capper. Complaynt againſt learned men.

Mary, I woulde if I were of the Queenes counſell, prouide for you well a fine, ſo as you ſhould neede take no diſeaſe for lacke of exerciſe; I woulde ſet you to the Plough and Carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your ſtudies, but ſet men together by the Eares, ſome with this opinion, & ſome with that, ſome holding this way, & ſome an other; and that ſo ſtifly, as though the troth muſt be as they ſay, that haue the vpper hand in contention; & this contention is not alſo the leaſt cauſe of former vprores of the people, ſome holding of the one learning, & ſome of the other. In my minde it made no matter, though we had no learned men at all.

Knight.

God forbid, neighbour, that it ſhould be ſo; how ſhould the Prynce haue counſailers then; how ſhould we haue chriſtian religion taught vs; how ſhoul[d] we know the eſtats of other realmes, & haue [1] conferenc[e] with them of al contryes, except it were throug[h] learning, & by the benefit of Letters?

[1 orig. houe]

Doctor.

Care not therefore, goodman capper; yee ſhall haue few ynough of learned men within a while, if this world hold on.

Capper.

I meane not but I would haue men to learne to wryt & reade, yea, & to learne the languages vſed in countreies about vs, that we might write our mindes to them, & they to vs; yea, and that [2] wee might reade the holy ſcriptures in our mother tongue; & as for your preaching (except yee agree better), it made no matter howe litle wee had of it, for of dyuerſity thereof cometh theſe diuerſities of opinions.

[2 Fol. 6, back]

Doctor. Why learning ſhould be like to decay hereafter.

Then yee care for no other ſciences at all, but the knowledge of tongues, and to wryte & reade; and ſo it appeares well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe a dayes, when men ſendes their ſonnes to the Uniuerſities, they ſuffer them no longer to tary there, then they may haue a litle of the latin tongue; & then they take them away, & beſtow them to be Clarkes with ſome man of Lawe, or ſome Auditor and Receyuer, or to be a Secretary with ſome great man or other, and ſo to come to a lyuing, whereby the Uniuerſities be in maner emptied, and as I thinke will be occaſion that this Realme within a ſhorte ſpace will be made as empty of wiſe and pollitique

men, and consequently barbarous, and at the last thrall and subiect to other Nations whereof wee were Lordes before.

God forbid that we that bee Gentlemen shoulde not with our pollicy in warre, prouide that we come not in subiection of any other nation; and the stoutnesse of Englyshe heartes will neuer suffer that, thoughe there were no learned men in the Realme at all. Knight.

Well, an empyre or a Kingdome is not so muche won or kept by the manhode and force of men, as it is by wisedome and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning; for wee see in all kindes of gouernaunce, for the most parte, the wyser sorte haue the soueraygnty ouer the rude & vnlearned, as in euery house the most expert, in euery City *the* wisest & most sage, and in euery common weale the most learned, are moste commonly placed to gouerne the rest; yea, among all nations of the worlde they that be polytique and ciuile doe mayster the rest, thoughe their forces be inferior to the other. The Empyres of the Greekes & Romaines [1] doe declare that, among whom, like as learning and wisedome was most esteemed, so the Empyres were spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And, why should you thinke it straung, that you might more be vanquished than the other were before time, that reckened themselues as stoute men as you be, yea, dwellers of this realme, as *the* Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, & the Brytons by *the* Romaines fyrst of all. Doctor.

Whether a common vveale may be vvell gouerned vvithout learning.

[1 Fol. 7]

That the learned haue alvvay the soueraignty ouer the vnlearned.

There may bee wyse men ynough, though they bee not learned. I haue knowne diuerse men very wise & politique, that know neuer a letter on the booke; and contrary wise, as many other learned men that haue bene very Idiots in maner for any worldly pollicy that they had. Knighte.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wyse men as yee speake of had learninge to their wits, they had bene more exellent. And the other, that yee call so simple, had bene foolyshe if they had had no learninge at all. Exercyse in warres maketh not euery man meete to bee a Captayne, though hee trauayle in it neuer so longe; nor there is no other so apt for the warre, but with experience and vse he is made more perfit; for what maketh olde men commonly more wise than the younger sorte, but their greater experience? Doctor.

Whether a man may be vvyse vvithout learning.

Yea, experience helpeth much the wit of men, I confesse. But what doth learning thereto? Knight.

Doctor. If yee graunt mee that experience doth help, then I doubte not but yee will graunt mee anon, that learninge doth alſo help much to the increaſe of wiſedome; let *that*, then, be ſet for a ſure grounde that experience doth further wiſdome, & take it as it were *the* father of wiſedome, & memory to be *the* mother. For, like as experience doth beget wiſdome as a father, ſo memory nouriſheth it as a mother; for in vaine ſhoulde experience be had, if *the* ſame were not kept in remembraunce. Then if I can ſhew you that both expe[1]rience and alſo memory are holpen and furthered by learninge, then yee muſt needes graunt me, that learning furthers wit and increaſeth it; yee confeſſe the experience of an olde man maketh him wiſer than the younge, becauſe hee ſawe mo things then the other. But an olde man ſeeth but onely things of his owne time, & the learned man ſeeth not onely his owne times experience, but alſo that befell in a great many of his auncestors, yea, ſince the worlde began. Wherefore, he muſt needes haue more experience then the vnlearned man, of what great age ſo euer he be, then ſo many caſes as he ſeeth in all that time to haue happened, coulde not ſo well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wrytings; and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee ſawe, hee neuer lightly remembers it againe; where as *the* learned man hath his booke alwayes to call him to remembraunce of that hee ſhould els forget. Therefore, as he that liueth a hundreth yeares muſt needes haue more experience then hee that liueth fifty[2], ſo hee that ſeeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a table paynted afore him of a thouſand yeres, muſt needes haue greater experience then he that liueth but a hundreth. Alſo he that trauaileth many farre Countryes, hath more experience than other of like age that neuer goeth out of his natiue countrey. So he that is learned, ſeeth by Coſmography[3], hyſtories, and other learnings, the right maner & vſage of euery countrey in the world, yea, of many moe then is poſſible for one man to trauayle through, and of theſe *that* he trauaileth much better, doth he learne there by ſmall taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vnlearned, and conſequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipolent; & now I am forced to conſider the maruaylous gyftes that we haue by learning, that is, how learning ſupplyeth vn[4]to man the greateſt lack *that* ſome Wryters haue complayned of, to be

That learning ſupplyeth the lacke of experience, & that experience is the father of Wyſedome.

[1 Fol. 7, back]

[2 orig. fifty]

[3 orig. Cosmograpgraphy]

[4 Fol. 8]

in man kinde, that is, the breuity of Age, the groſſeneſſe & wayght of body: where in the firſt, diuerſe beaſtes, as Hartes and many other, and in the laſt all Byrdes, doe excell man; for where it is deemed man to liue aboue a hundreth yeares or theare aboutes, by the benefite of learning, he hath the commoditye of the life of a thowſand yeares; yea, two or three thowſandes, by reaſon hee ſeeth *the* euents and occurrents of all that time by Bookes. And if he ſhould haue liued him ſelfe by all that ſpace, then coulde he haue had nothinge els to his commodity, but that experience of things, the reſt had bene but trauayle; which experience he hath nowe by letters, and without any trauayle in manner at all, and without the daungers that he might him ſelfe haue bene in, if hee had liued by all that ſpace. As to the other poynte, that wee be not ſo agill and light as fowles & Byrdes of the Ayre bee, as that wee might ſturre from on place to an other, wee haue the commodity through learning that wee ſhould purchaſe by ſuch Peregrinations, as well as wee ſhould if wee might flee from one Countrey to an other like Byrdes, and yet with leſſe trauayle and daunger. May wee not through Coſmography ſee the ſituation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in the Worlde, yea, better and with leſſe trauayle then if wee might flee ouer them our ſelues; for that that many other haue learned through their great trauayles & daungers, they haue left to vs to be learned with eaſe & pleaſure. Can wee not[1] allſo throughe the ſcience of Aſtronomy knowe the courſe of the Planettes aboue, and theyre coniunctions and Aſpectes, as certaynely as if wee were amonge them? yes, ſurely that wee may: for tell mee, how came all *the* learned men heare to fore to the exacte and perfit knowledge thereof? came they not to it by conference & marking of circumſtances? (yes in deede), ſo *that* out of their writings we learned it; [2]and to the knowledge whereof by ſight onely wee could neuer attayne, though wee were as agill as any Byrde. What is there els profitable or neceſſary for the coniunct of mans life heare in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more compleate than any man can learne onely by experience all dayes of his life? no not ſo much as your Feate in warre, ſir Knight, no, nor your Feate, good Huſbandman, but that either of them are ſo exactly taught and ſet forth in learning, as that neither of you, both though yee be neuer ſo perfect in the ſaid Feates but might learne many poyntes

The wo full gyft we hau learning

[1 *orig.*

[2 Fol. 8,

That the no faculi is made perfect l learning

moe than euer yee ſaw before, by experience in either of them, as you, ſir Knight, in *Vigetius*, and you, good Huſbandman, in *Columella*.

Knight. I ſay agayne, might wee not haue that in our Engliſh tongue, & reade them ouer, though we neuer went to ſchole?

Doctor. Yea, well ynough, and yet ſhoulde yee bee ſarre from the perfect vnderſtanding of them, except yee had the help of other ſciences, that is to ſay, of Arithmetique, in diſpoſinge and ordering your men; and Geometry, in deuiſing of Engines to winne Townes and Fortraſſes, & of Brydges to paſſe ouer, in the which *Cæſar* excelled other by reaſon of the learning that hee had in thoſe ſciences, and did wonderfull feates which an vnlearned man coulde neuer haue done; and if yee had warre ouer the Sea, howe coulde yee knowe towards what Coaſtes yee be Sea dryuen, without knowledge of the latitude of the place by the Poale, and the length, by other ſtarres? and you, good huſband, for the perfection of the knoweledge of huſbandry, had neede of ſome knowledge in Aſtronomy, as vnder what aſpect of *the* Planets, and in the entry of what ſigne by the Sunne & Moone, it is time to Eare, to Dounge, to Sowe, to Reape, to Set, to Graffe, to Cut your Wood, your Timber; yea, to haue ſome iudgment of the Weather that is like to come, for Inning of your Corne and Graſſe, and houſeinge of your [1] Cattell; yea, of ſome part of Phiſick, called *Veterinaria*,[2] where by yee might knowe the diſeaſes of your Beaſtes, & heale them. Then, for true meaſuringe of lande, had yee not neede of ſome knowledge in Geometry, to bee a perfit huſband? Then for building, what Carpenter or Maſon is ſo cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge of *vitruuius*, and other wryters of *Architecture*, that is to ſay, the ſcyence of building? and to paſſe ouer *the* ſciences of Logicke & Retorique, whereof *the* firſt trauayleth about *the* diſcuſcion of the true reaſon from *the* falſe, the other aboute *the* perſwaſion of *that* is to be ſet forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedient, whereof a good and perfit counſaylor might want neyther; well, tell mee what counſayl can bee perfit, what common weale can bee well ordered vprighte, where none of the Rulers or Counſaylors haue ſtudied any Philoſophy, ſpecially the parte that teacheth of manners, (the other part of Phyloſophy I paſſe ouer now, which teacheth of natures, and is called phyſicke,) what part of the common weale is neglected by Phyloſophy morall? doth it not teache,

How Cæsar excelled all other captaines by reason of his great learning joyned with his prowesse.

[1 Vol. 9]
[2 orig. *Veterinaria*]

That knowledge in moral philosophy is most necessary for Counsailor.

firſt, how euery man ſhoulde gouerne him ſelfe honeſtly; Secondly, how he ſhould guide his family wiſely and profitably? And thirdly, it ſheweth how a Cyty or a Realme, or any other common weale ſhould bee well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and alſo warre. What common weale can bee without either a Gouerner, or Counſaylors, that ſhoulde bee expert in this kinde of learning; this confirmeth the poynt that wee now talke of; [it] men experte in this Science were conſulted and followed, the commen weale ſhoulde bee ordered, as fewe ſhould haue cauſe to complayne; therefore ſayd *Plato*, that diuine Philoſopher, that happy is that Commonweale where either *the* Prince is a Phyloſopher, or where a Philoſopher is the Prince. Plato.

I had weened before, that there had bene no other learninge in the world, but that theſe men had, that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of the Lawe, or of Phiſicke; whereof the firſt had all his cunning in Preaching, the ſecond in matters of the ſpirituall lawe, and the third in phiſicke, & in looking on diſeaſed mens water; mary, yee tell me now of many other ſciences, very neceſſary for euery common weale, which I neuer heard of before: but eyther there be fewe of theſe Doctors that can ſkill of them, or els they diſcloſe but litle of their cunning. Knight. [1 Fol. 9. back]

Of truth there be to fewe of them that can ſkill of theſe ſciences now a dayes, and of thoſe there be too fewe of them that are eſteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counſell. And therefore others, ſeeing theſe Sciences nothing eſteemed or ſet by, they fall to thoſe ſciences that they ſee in ſome pryce, as to Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Phiſicke; though they cannot bee perfit in any of theſe, without the knowledge of the ſciences aboue touched; and therefore it is ordayned by Uniuerſities, that firſt men ſhould bee Bachelers and Maſters of Artes, ere they ſhould come to Diuinity; and theſe Artes bee the ſeuen liberall ſciences, as Grammer, Logique, Rhetorique, Arithmetique, Geometry, Muſicke, and Aſtronomy; and now they ſkip ouer them, and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchaſed them any iudgment through the foreſayd ſciences, which maketh them to fall to theſe diuerſities of Opinions that ye ſpeake of; for all beginners in euery ſcience be very quicke and ouer-haſty in geuing their iudgment of thinges (as expe

Doctor.

What maketh learned men to be so fevve.

Younge studients bee allvvaies ouer hasty in vttering their iudgments.

rience teacheth euery man); & then, when they haue once vttered their iudgmentes & opinions, they will ſee nothing that will ſounde contrary to the ſame, but eyther they will conſtrue it to their owne phantaſy, or vtterly deny it to be of any authority. *Pythagoras*, to his ſcholers *that* came to learne his prophane ſciences, commaunded ſilence for ſeuen yeares, that by all *that* ſpace they ſhould be hearers onely, and no reaſoners: and [1]in this Diuine ſcience, euery Boye that hath not red ſcripture paſt halfe a yeare, ſhalbe ſuffered, not onely to reaſon and enquire of things (for that were tollerable), but to affirme newe and ſtraunge interpretacions vpon the ſame, neuer heard of before. What ende of Opinions can there bee while this is ſuffered? Alſo *Plato* forbad any man to come to his ſchoole that was ignoraunt in Geometry; and to this highe ſchoole of Dyuinity, he that knoweth not his Grammer, much leſſe any other ſcience, ſhall be admitted at the firſt; I ſay not to learne, for that might bee ſuffered, but to iudge; and there commeth in the thinge, that the ſame *Plato* ſayeth to bee an onely cauſe ſufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Common weale where it is vſed, that is, when they take on them the iudgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne,—as youth, of thinges belongingе to olde men, children ouer their fathers, ſeruaunts ouer their maiſters, and priuate men ouer their Maieſtrates; what Ship can bee longe ſafe from wracke, where euery man will take vpon him to bee a Pylate? what houſe well gouerned, where euery ſeruaunt will bee a maiſter and a teacher? I ſpeake thus much of the commendation of learning, not onely becauſe I heard my freind heere (the Capper) ſet litle by learninge, but alſo that I ſee many nowe a dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wryte and reade, and learne *the* tongues; whom I can reſemble well to thoſe men that eſteemeth more the Barke then the Tree, the Shale more then the Kyrnell; wherefore, they ſeeme to take the bright Sunne from *the* Earth, that would take away learning from vs; for *the* ſame is no more neceſſary for the increaſe of all thinges on earth, *then* is learninge for the increaſe of Ciuility, Wiſedome, and Policy amonge men. And aſmuch as reaſonable men doe excell all other creatures by *the* gyft of Reaſon, ſo much excelleth a learned man [illegible], through the poliſhing and adorning of Reaſon by theſe [illegible]

Pythagoras commaunded ſilence to his diſciples for a time.

([1] Fol. 10)

Plato commaunded that no man ignoraunt in Geometry ſhould enter vp in hande.

What hatred may come if they bee ſuffered to iudge in things to whom it doth not apertayne.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Of my fayth, I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my company at this time, for of a wiſe man a man may alwayes learne. But mee thought yee ſayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee ſhould haue learned men few ynough within a while, if *the* world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what ſhould be *the* cauſe thereof? Knight.

I ſhewed you all ready one great cauſe of the ſame; that was, where I ſhewed you that moſt men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write & reade; another cauſe is, *that* they ſee no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or eſtimation geuen them, like as hath bene in time paſt. But rather the contrary, *the* more learned, the more troubles, loſſes, & vexations they come vnto. Doctor. Why lear should de

God forbid! How ſo? Knight.

Mary! haue you not ſeene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring their opinions in thinges that haue ryſen in controuerſie? haue you not knowne when one Opinion hath bene ſet forth, and who ſo euer ſayd againſt that were put to trouble; and ſhortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and ſet forth, were not the other *that* proſpered before, put to trouble, for ſaying their mindes againſt this latter opinion? & ſo neither of both parties eſcaped, but eyther firſt or laſt hee came to bee hit, of whether ſide ſoeuer hee were, except it were ſome weatherwiſe fellowes, that coulde chaunge their opinions as *the* more & ſtronger part did chaunge theirs; and what were they that came to theſe troubles? the ſingulareſt fellowes of both parties; for there came no other to the concertacion of theſe things, but ſuch, who ſeeing in ſteede of honour and preferment, diſhonour and hinderaunce, recompenſed for a reward of [1]learning; will any either put his childe to that ſcience that may bring him no better fruite than this? or, what ſcholer ſhall haue any courrage to[2] ſtudy to come to that ende? the rarity of ſcholers and ſolitude of the Uniuerſities doe declare this to be truer then any man *with* ſpeach can declare. Doctor. [1 Fol. 11] [2 *orig.* co

Then, I perceaue euery man findeth himſelfe greeued at this time, & no man goeth cleare, as farre as I can perceaue. The Gentleman, that hee cannot lyue on his Landes onely, as his father did before; the Artifficers cannot ſet ſo many a worke, by reaſon all maner of Marchan That eue state find himselfe g ued.

victayle is ſo deere; the Huſbandman, by reaſon his Lande is deerer rented then before; then we that bee Merchaunts pay much deerer for euery thing that commeth ouer ſea; which great derth (I ſpeake in compariſon of former times) hath bene alwayes, in a maner, at a ſtay, euer after that baſeneſſe of our Engliſh Coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng *Henry* the eyght.

[Debasing of our coin.]

Doctor. I doubt not, but if any ſorte of men haue licked themſelues whole, yee bee the ſame; for what oddes ſo euer there happen to bee in exchaunge of thinges, yee that bee Marchaunts can eſpy it ſtraight; for example, becauſe yee touched ſomewhat of *that* Coyne, as ſoone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunſed, yee by and by what was to bee wonne therein beyonde ſea; raked all the olde Coyne for *the* moſt parte in the Realme, and founde the meanes to haue it caryed ouer, ſo as litle was lefte beehinde within this Realme of ſuch olde Coyne in a very ſhorte ſpace, which, in my Opynion,[1] is a great cauſe of this dearth *that* hath bene ſince of all things.

That Marchauntes best saue themselues in euery alteration.

Of our olde Coyne exhausted.

[1 *orig.* Oppnion]

Knight. How can *that* be? what maketh it to the matter what ſorte of Coyne we haue among our ſelues, ſo it be currant from one hand to another, yea, if it were made of Leather?

Doctor. Yea, ſo men commonly ſay, but the truth is contrary, as not onely I coulde proue by common reaſon, but alſo *the* [2]proofe & experience hath already declared the ſame; but nowe wee doe not reaſon of the cauſes of theſe griefes, but what ſtates of men bee grieued in deede by this dearth of things; and albeit I heare euery man finde him ſelfe grieued by it in one thinge or other, yet, conſidering *that* as many of them as haue wares to ſell, doe enhaunſe as much in *the* pryce of thinges that they ſell, as was enhaunſed before in the prices of things that they muſt buy; as the Marchaunt, if hee buy deere, hee will ſell deere againe; ſo theſe Artificers, as Cappers, Clothiers, Shomakers, and Farmers, haue reſpect large ynough in ſellinge their wares to the price of victayle, Wooll, & Iron, which they buy. I haue ſene a Cap for xiiii. pence, as good as I can get now for ii. ſhillings ſixe pence: of cloth yee haue heard how the price is ryſen. Now, a payre of ſhooes coſt twelue pence, yet in my time I haue bought a better for ſixe pence. Now, I can get neuer a horſe ſhooed vnder ten pence or twelue pence, where I haue alſo ſeene the common pryce was ſixe pence. I cannot, therefore, vnderſtande that theſe men haue greateſt

[2 Fol. 11, back]

Whether it make any matter of vvhat mettall the Coyne bee made of.

[Rise in prices: Cap, 14*d.* to 30*d.*; shoes, 6*d.* to 1*s*; horse shod, 6*d.* to 10*d.* or 12*d.*]

greife by this common and vniuerſall dearth, but rather ſuch as haue their Lyuinges and Stypendes rated at a certaynty, as, common Laborers at eight pence a day, Iourneymen of all occupations, ſeruing men to forty ſhilings a yeare; and Gentlemen, whoſe landes are ſet out by them and their Aunceſtors, either for lyues or for terme of yeares, ſo as they cannot enhaunce *the* rentes thereof, though they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunſed to them of euery thing that they buye. Yea, the Prince, of whom wee ſpeake nothing of all this while, as ſhe hath moſt of yearely Reuenewes, and that certayne, ſo ſhould ſhee haue moſte loſſe by this dearth, and by the alteration ſpecially of the Coyne; for, like as a man that hath a great number of ſeruaunts vnder him, if he would graunt that they ſhould pay him pinnes weekely, where before they payde him pence, [1] I thinke he ſhould be moſt looſer himſelfe; ſo wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which commeth to vs, wee haue but euery man a poore liuinge; the cleare gaynes commeth, for the moſt part, to the Prince. now if her highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettinges in this baſe Coyne, I reporte me to you, wether *that* will go as farre as good Money in *the* Prouiſion of neceſſaries for her ſelfe and the Realme. I thinke plainely no, for though her grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot indeede without great grudge of her Maieſties ſubiects; yea, ſince her Maieſty muſt haue from beyonde the Seas many thinges neceſſary, not onely for her graces houſhold, and Ornaments aſwel of her perſon and family as of her horſes, which percaſe might bee by her Grace ſomewhat moderated; but alſo for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be ſpared, as Armor of all kindes, Artillery, Ankers, Cables, Pitch, Tarre, Iron, Steele; (yea, I iudge farther) ſome Handgunnes, Gunne poulder, and many other thinges, moe then I can recken, which her Grace ſometimes doth buy from beyonde the Seas, at the prices that the ſtraungers will ſet them at. I paſſe ouer the enhaunſment of *the* charges of her Graces houſhoulde, which is common to her Grace with all other noble men; therefore, (I ſay,) her Maieſtie ſhould haue moſt loſſe by this common dearth of all other; and not onely loſſe, but daunger to the Realme and all her ſubiects, if her Grace ſhould want Treaſure to purchaſe the ſaide prouiſion and neceſſaries for warre, or to finde Souldiers

What men moste pinch by this com Dearth.

That the Prince hath moste losse this commo Dearth.

[1 Fol. 12]

What daun should it be the Realme the Prince should vvan Treasure in time of nee

in time of neede, which paſſeth all the other priuate loſſes that wee ſpeake of.

Capper. Wee heare ſay that the Queenes Maieſtyes mint maketh vp her loſſes that way, by the gaines which ſhe hath by the Mint an other way; and if that be to ſhorte, ſhee ſupplieth that lacke by Subſidies and impoſitions of her [1]Subiects, ſo as her Grace can haue no lacke, ſo longe as her Subiects haue it.

[1 Fol. 12, back]

Doctor. Yee ſay well there, 'ſo long as the Subiects haue it,' ſo it is meete the Queene ſhoulde haue, as long as they haue it; but what, and they haue it not? for they cannot haue it when there is no Treaſure left within the Realme; and as touchinge the Mint, I coumpte that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode vp by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to loſe *the* profit that might growe thereof yearely; or to pull *the* wooll of his ſheepe by the roote. And as for the Subſidies, howe can they be large when the Subiects haue litle to departe with? & yet *that* way of gatheringe treaſure is not allwayes moſt ſafe for the Prynces ſuerty; and wee ſee many times the profits of ſuch Subſidies ſpent in the appeaſing of the people that are mooued to ſedition, partely by occaſion of the ſame.

Howve the Queenes Maiesty cannot haue Treasure When her subiects haue none.

To vvhat profit the nevv Mint is like.

Knighte. Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with ſo wiſe a man as yee be, Maiſter Doctor, I would wee did go thorough with *the* whole diſcourſe of this matter, & as hetherto wee haue enſearched the very ſores and grieues that euery man feeleth, ſo to try out the cauſes of them; and *the* cauſes once knowne, the remedy of them might be ſoone apparent; and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percaſe ſome of vs may come in place where wee may aduertiſe other of the ſame that might further and helpe forward the redreſſe of theſe thinges.

Doctor. A Gods name, I am content to beſtowe this day to ſatiſſie your pleaſurs, & though this [2]co*m*munication (percaſe) ſhould doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme, I truſt, nor offend no man, ſith it is had betwene vs heere, a parte, and in good maner.

[2 *orig.* cõmunication]

Knight. No, what man ſhould be angry with him that were in an houſe, and eſpied ſome faulte in the Beames or Raf[3]ters of the ſame, and would enſearch the default, & then certifie the good man of the houſe thereof, or ſome other dwelling therein, aſwell for his owne ſauegarde as for others? but, foraſmuch as wee haue thus farre proceeded, as to

[3 Fol. 13]

A recapitulation of the common griefes.

the findinge out of the griefes, which, as farre as I perceaue, ſtandeth in theſe poynctes, (that is to ſay) dearth of all things in compariſon of the former age, (though there be ſcarſenes of nothinge), deſolation of Countryes by Incloſures, deſolation of townes for lacke of occupations and Craftes; and diuiſion of Opinions in matters of Religion, which haleth men to and fro, and maketh them contend one againſt another. Now, let vs goe to the Garden vnder the Vyne, where hauing a good, freſhe, and coole ſitting for vs in the ſhadow, there wee may proceede farther in this matter at leaſure. And I will beſpeake our Supper here with myne hoſt, that wee may all ſuppe together. A Gods name! (quoth euery one of the reſt of the company), for wee are weary of ſitting here ſo long. And ſo wee all departed to the Garden.

[Evils: de enclosures, of work, divisions in religion.]

[Fol. 13, back]

THE SECOND DIA-logue, wherein the cauſes or *occaſions of the ſayd griefes are en-*creaſed

Knight.

WHen we had walked vp and downe in the ſayd Garden a prety whyle, I thought long till I had heard more of the ſayde Doctors communication; for hee ſeemed to mee a very wiſe man, not after *the* common ſort of theſe Clarkes, which can talke nothing but of the faculty that they profeſſe: as, if they be Deuines, of diuinity; Lawyers, of the lawe; & Phiſitions, of phiſicke onely; this man ſpake very naturally of euery thinge, as a man vniuerſally ſeene, that had ioyned good learning with good wit; and therefore I deſired him and the reſt of our ſaide companions, to reſorte againe to the matter that wee left at, and firſt to diſcourſe & ſearch out what ſhould be *the* cauſes of the ſaide common and vniuerſall dearth of all thinges (in compariſon of the former age), ſaying to *the* Doctor thus: I maruayle much, maiſter Doctor, what ſhould be the cauſe of this dearth, ſeeing all thinges are (thankes bee to God) ſo plentifull. There was neuer more plenty of Cattell then there is nowe of all ſortes; and yet there is ſcarſity of things which commonly make dearth. This is a maruaylous dearth, that in ſuch plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a maruaylous Dearth that commeth in time of plenty.

Doctor.

Syr, it is (no doubt) a thinge to be muſed vpon, and worthy of Inquiſition; let mee heare euery one of your opinions, and than yee ſhall heare myne.

Husband.

[1 Fol. 14] The occasion of this dearth is layde to the Gentleman

I thinke it is longe of you, Gentlemen, that this dearth [1]groweth, by reaſon yee enhaunſe your lands to ſuch a height, as men that liue thereon muſt needes ſell deare againe; or els they were neuer able to make their Rent.

And I ſay it is long of you Huſbandmen, that wee are forced to rayſe our Rents, by reaſon wee muſt buy ſo deare all thinges that wee haue of you, as Corne, Cattell, Gooſe, Pigge, Capon, Chiken, Butter and Egges. What thinge is there of all theſe but that yee ſell it nowe dearer by the one halfe then yee did within theſe xxx. yeares? Cannot you, Neighbour, remember, that within theſe xxx. yeres, I could in this towne buy the beſt Pigge or Gooſe that I could lay my hand on for foure pence, which now coſteth twelue pence; a good Capon for threepence or fourpence, a Chiken for i.d., a Hen for ii.d., which now coſteth mee double & triple the money? it is likewiſe in greater ware, as Biefe & Mutton.

Knight. From the tlemen it layde to Husband [Great ri prices la

I graunt that: but I ſay you & your ſorte, men of landes, are the firſt cauſe heereof, by reaſon you rayſe your landes.

Husbar

Well, if yee and your ſorte will agree thereto, that ſhalbee holpen; vndertake that you & your ſorte will ſell all thinges at the price yee did xxx. yeares agoe, & I doubt not to bringe all Gentlemen to lette vnto you their landes at the rent they went at xxx. yeares paſt; and that the fault is more in you that bee Huſbandmen, then in vs that bee Gentlemen, it appeareth by this,—all the landes of the Realme are not enhaunſed, for ſome haue takings therein, as Leaſes, or Copies not yet expyred, which cannot bee enhaunſed though the owners would; and ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen there bee, that when their landes be at their diſpoſition, yet they will enhaunce nothing aboue the olde rent, ſo as a greate parte of the landes of the Realme ſtand yet at the olde rent; and yet neuertheleſſe there is none of your ſorte at all, but ſelleth all things they haue, dearer then they were wont to doe by the one halfe. And yet theſe Gentlemen that doe enhaunſe their rentes, doe not enhaunſe it generally to the [1] double; though I confeſſe that ſome of vs that had landes either gieuen vs by the Kings highneſſe, that belonged heretofore to Abbeyes and Priories, and were neuer ſurueyed to the vttermoſt before, or otherwiſe deſcended to vs, haue enhaunſed any of them aboue the old rent, yet all that amounteth not to halfe the landes of the Realme.

Knight. The Gen mens ex and reso offer. [1 Fol. 1.

How ſay yee? hee ſayeth well to you nowe; will yee ſell your wares as yee were wont to doe? and hee will let you haue his lande at the rent yee were accuſtomed to haue it. When the huſbandman had pawſed a while, hee ſayd:

Doctor.

Husband. If I had the price of euery thing that I muſt pay for beſides likewiſe brought downe, I could be content; els not.

Doctor. What thinges bee thoſe?

Husband. Mary, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes; tarre for our ſheepe; ſhooes, cappes, linnen & wollen cloth for my meany, which if I ſhould buy, neuertheleſſe, as deare as I doe nowe, and yet ſell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforeſayd might bee abated in pryce together, I could neuer lyue.

The husbandman refuseth, and putteth over the faulte to Iron Mongers, and clothiers.

Doctor. Then I perceaue yee muſt haue *the* pryce of other things qualified, as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can aford your ware good cheape.

Husband. Yea, (but ſir) I thinke if the lande were brought downe, that the pryce of all thinges would fall withall.

Doctor. Graunt that all the Landlords in this realme woulde with one aſſent agree, that theyr landes ſhould bee in theyr Tenaunts handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe; yee ſayd afore yee coulde not yet ſell your wares as good cheape as yee might xx. yeares paſt, becauſe of the pryce that is rayſed in other thinges that yee muſt buy; and if ye would ſay that thoſe men ſhould be driuen againe to ſell thoſe wares that yee buy, firſt better cheape, and then yee will ſell yours thereafter, I pray you, how might they [1]be compelled to doe ſo? they be ſtraungers, and not within obedience of our ſoueraigne Lady, that doe ſell ſuch wares, as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other; then conſider mee, if yee cannot ſo compell them, whether it were expedient for vs to ſuffer ſtraungers to ſell all their commodities deere, & wee ours good cheape; if it were ſo, than it were a greate enrychinge of other countreyes, and impouerihinge of our owne; for they ſhould haue much Treaſure for theirs, and haue our commodities from vs for a very litle; except yee could deuiſe to make one pryce of our commodities among our ſelues, and another outwardes, which I cannot ſee how it may bee?

[1 Fol. 15] If all Landes vvere abated in their rent, vvhether this dearth vvoulde be remedied.

That it vvere not expedient that straungers should sel deere and vvee ours good cheape.

Knight. Nay, I will make my Neighbour heere another reaſonable offer, if hee refuſe this: let my Tenauntes rent bee increaſed as your payment is increaſed after the rate, and yet I am contented.

A nother offer of the Gentleman made to the Husbandman.

Husband. What meane yee by that?

Knight. I meane this: yee ſell that yee were wont to ſell a foretime for

xx. groates, now for xxx.; let my rent bee increaſed after that proportion and rate, that is, for euery xx. groates of olde rente, x. ſhillinges, and ſo as the pryce of your wares riſeth; and yet I doe but keepe my land at the olde ſtent.

My bargayne was to pay for my holde but vi. poundes xiii. ſhillinges iiii.d. of yearly rent, and I pay that truely; yee can require no more of mee. Husband.

I cannot much ſay agaynſt that; but yet I perceaue I ſhallbe ſtill a loſer by that bargayne, though I cannot tell *the* reaſon why; but I perceiue yee ſell dearer, that yee liue on, and I good cheape that which is my liuing; helpe mee, mayſter Docter, I pray you, for the Huſbandman driueth mee to the Wall. Knight.

Mary, but mee thinketh, touching the matter yee did reaſon of, you draue him to his ſhiftes; that is, to confeſſe that this dearth riſeth not at your hand. And, though hee doe de[1]fend him ſelfe for his paymente to you by a colour of lawe, yet hee ſeemeth to confeſſe thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take litle for your land, & that there is no lawe to reſtrayne him, but hee may ſell his wares as deere as he liſteth. It is enough for your purpoſe, that yee tooke in hand to proue that this dearth roſe not firſt at your hande; but, whether (the pryces of thinges increaſing as they doe) it were reaſon yee did rayſe your wares (which is your lande), or to bee payde after the olde rate when yee did ſette your land; if yee bee compelled to pay for your prouiſion after the newe rate, wee will talke of that hereafter; or, let *that* bee conſidered of other wiſe men; but now let vs ſee, if the Huſbandman were forced to ſell his thinges good cheape, whether all thinges ſhould bee well then. Our Engliſhe Coyne being ſuppoſed to be baſe, and of no ſuch eſtimation in other countreies as within our owne Realme, (as for the moſt parte it hath beene) before that it was reſtored by our noble Prince, which now raygneth; put the caſe this, *that* this huſbandman ſhould bee commaunded to ſell his wheate at viii.d. the buſhell, Rye at vi.d., Barely at iiii.d., his pig and gooſe at iiii.d., his capon at iiii.d., his Henne at i.d. ob.; his Wooll at a marke the Todde; Biefes and Muttons after the olde pryces in time paſt haue beene; hee hath then enough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time paſt; his Landlord agayne hath as much rent as hee was wonte to haue; and the ſame when the price is ſo ſet, will goe as far for the

Doctor.

[1 Fol. 15, back]

Whether if the Husbandman vvere forced to abate the prices of his stuffe, this dea[r]th should be thes mended.

[Even if the Husbandman were orderd to sell at old prices and the Landlord to take his old rent,

ſayd wares, whereof *the* pryces be thus ſet as ſo much of olde Coine, paide after the olde wont would haue done; all this is yet well; heere is yet neither Lord nor Tenaunte grieued; well, let us goe farther: The Huſbandman muſt buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch; and ſuppoſe hee ſhould bee alſo forced to reare vp Flaxe on his owne, and that pryces of cloth, both Linnen, & Woollen, & Leather, were ſet after the rate. The Gentleman muſt buy Wynes, Spyces, Sil[1]kes, Armour, Glaſſe to glaze his houſe withall; Iron alſo for Tooles, Weapones, and other Inſtruments neceſſary, as Salt, Oyles, & many other diuerſe thinges, more then I can recken without ſu*mm*e; whereof they may in no wiſe want, as Iron & Salt, for of that which is within *the* realme of both, is not halfe ſufficient for the ſame; Oyles, Tarre, Pitch, and Rozyn, whereof wee haue none at all; and without ſome other of the ſaid commodities wee could liue but groſly and Barbarouſly, as without Wynes, Spyces, &·Silkes, theſe muſt be brought from beyonde the Seas; ſhall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man would thinke yes; for when ſtraungers ſhould ſee that with leſſe money then they were wont to take for theſe wares, they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme as they were wont afore with more money, they will bee content to take the leſſe money when it goeth as farre as *the* more went before, and ſo ſell their wares as good cheape; (as for an example) if they ſell now a yard of Veluet for xx.s. or xxii.s., and pay that for a Todde of Wooll, were it not as good for them then to ſell their Veluet at a marke a yard, ſo they had a Todde of Wooll for a marke?

[1 Fol. 16] could foreign wines, glass for windows, &c.'

be bought at like low prices?]

Knighte. I would thinke ſo, for thereby hee ſhould be at no more loſſe then hee is now. And ſo the like reaſon may ſerue for Iro*n*, Wynes, Salt, Spice, Oyles, Pitch, Tarre, Flaxe, Waxe, and all other outwarde commodities.

Doctor. If I ſhould aſke you this queſtion, whether they ſhould bee compelled by a lawe to ſell theyr wares ſo or no, what could yee ſay?

Knight. It maketh no matter whether it were ſo or no; & I think they cannot, becauſe they be out of the Princes Dominion, and at liberty whether they will bring any thing to vs or no; but ſeeinge they may haue all thinges heere, as good cheape at that price they ſell for leſſe money, as they had before for the greater price, they will willingly bring their wares and ſell them ſo.

[1]Thereof I doubt, vpon the former ſuppoſition of our baſe Coyne; for I thinke they would ſell ſtill at the higheſt as they doe now; or bring nothinge at all to vs. For yee muſt vnderſtand they come not alwayes for our commodities, but ſometimes to ſell theirs heere, knowing it heere to be beſt vendible, and to buy in other countreyes other commodities, where the ſame is beſt cheape; and ſome times to ſell in one parte of the Realme their wares that bee there moſt deſired, and to goe to ſome other parte of the realme, for the commodities that be there moſt abundaunt and beſt cheape, or partly of our Countrey & partly of another; and for *that* purpoſe Coyne vniuerſally currant is moſt commodious, ſpecially if they entend to beſtowe it in any other place, then where they were vnladen of their marchaundize. Now, if our coyne were not ſo alowed in other places as it is heere, *the* ſtraunger ſhould be at greater loſſes if he ſhould take our coyne for his wares, ſo as he had leauer bring his wares to other places where hee might haue Coyne currant in all places for it, that he might beſtowe when and where he liſt. If they would looke but for our wares for theirs, thinke yee that they would not ſtudy to bring vs ſuch wares or ſtuffe as ſhould be beſt cheape with them and moſt deare with vs.

Doctor.

[1 Fol. 16, back]

The straunge vvill take but money currant euery Where for thir vvare that they haue on their charge.

Yea, no doubt that is the policy of all Marchaunts. Knight.

What ſtuffe is that, trowe you? Doctor.

Mary, Glaſſes of all ſortes, paynted Clothes, & Papers, Orenges, Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, and ſuch like tryfles. Knighte.

Yee ſay well, they will percaſe attempt vs with ſuch & ſuch thinges as are good cheape with them; it coſteth but their labours onely, and their peoples, which els ſhould be idle; yet theſe thinges be ſome what after the price in other places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feele the lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Hempe, Flaxe, and ſuch other, ſuch light wares as yee ſpeake of will not be deſired heere, [2]but reiected, and theſe other looked for. what other things els will they bring, trowe you? Doctor.

That straungers and all Marchauntes bring thinges that bee best chape to them, and deerest vvith vs.

[2 Fol. 17]

Percaſe yee meane Silkes, Wynes, and Spyces? Knight.

No, not that, for thoſe bee in good price els where. Doctor.

What, then, ſhould they haue to vtter to vs, that is beſt cheape with them and deereſt with vs? Knight.

Braſſe, for it ſhould go *with* them but for Braſſe in dede, and therefore good cheape, and heere with vs a great part for Doctor.

Siluer, and therefore deere with vs; and *that* they would bringe vnto vs.

Knight. How? in braſſe Pots, Panes, and other Veſſel of Braſſe?

Doctor. Not ſo; no man would take ſuch Stuffe but for Braſſe in deede.

Knighte. How then? [1] Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in Coyne made beyonde ſea, like in all thinges to our Coyne, which they brought ouer in heapes; and when they ſee that eſteemed heere as ſiluer, they bringe that for our commodities, as for our Woolles, felles, Cheſe, Butter, Cloth, Tinne, and Ledde, which thing euery man will be glad to ſell for the moſt they can get; and beinge offered of ſtraungers more of our Coine then they may get within the countrey, they will ſell them to ſtraungers rather then vs, with whom the price is ſet; then ſtraungers may aforde *that* Coine good cheape, for they make it them ſelues, and the Stuffe is good cheape that they make it of, and ſo they will geeue thereof for our ſayde commodities, as much as yee will aſke. Then, though they made not ſuch Coyne themſelues, yet, ſeeing they muſt pay more for our wares, or els no man would bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home of his neighbours, the ſtraungers muſt needes haue a conſideration of that in the price of *the* ſayd outwarde marchaundize that they ſell, & alſo holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhauſte our cheife commodities, and gieue vs braſſe for them, where with wee cannot buy ſuch [2] other like neceſſary commodities againe as wee ſhoulde want, if they were not plenty within our Realme. Much like the exchaunge that *Homer* ſayeth *Glaucus* made with *Diomedes*, when he gaue to his man his golden Harneſſe for Braſen. But *the* other way they muſt needes bee brought to ſell theire wares deerer to vs, and then, if this huſbandeman and Gentleman, and ſo all other within this realme, ſhould be compelled to ſell their thinges good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that cometh frome beyonde the Sea, I cannot ſee how they ſhould longe proſper; for I neuer knewe him that bought deere and ſould good cheape, and vſe it any long ſpace, to thriue.

[1] Doctor.

[Base coin made abroad, and exchangd for English goods.]

[2 Fol. 17, back. *Catch word* like o.]

Glauci & Diomedis permutatio.

He that selles good cheape and buieth deere shall not lightly thriue.

Knight. There may be ſearchers made for ſuch Coyners as yee ſpeake of, comming in, and puniſhments deuiſed therefore; and for goinge forth of Victayles alſo, that none ſhall paſſe this Realme.

Doctor. There may be no deuiſe imagined ſo ſtronge, but that yee may bee deceaued in both thoſe points, as well in ſuch coyne brought in as in

victailes caried forth; for many heades will deuise many wayes to get any thinge by; & though wee bee enuyroned with a good Poole, (that is, the Sea,) yet there is to many Posterns of it to gett out and in, vnwares of the maister. Whosoeuer hath but a prety house, with any Family of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in at, and the maister of *the* house neuer so attentiue, yet somewhat shalbe purloined forth; much more out of such a large Realme as this is, hauinge so many wayes and Posterns to goe forth at and come in. And yet if straungers shoulde bee content to take but our wares for theirs, what shoulde let them to aduaunce *the* prices of theire wares, though oures were good cheape vnto them? and then shall wee be still losers, and they at the winning hand with vs, while they sell deere and buy good cheape, and consequently enrych themselues and impouerishe vs. Yet had I leauer aduaunce our [1] wares in price as they aduaunce theirs (as wee nowe doe), thoughe some bee loosers thereby; but yet not so many as should bee the other waye. And yet, what businesse shoulde there bee in making of prices of euery trifle? for so it woulde bee, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by commaundemente; and therfore I cannot perceaue that it maye bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you, Gentleman, & you good husbandman); for if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied likewise at the same, by releasing the thing againe at either of your handes that was *the* cause of this dearth. But if either you should release your rente, or you the price of your Victayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell straungers to bringe downe the price of theirs, as I haue sayde; and so longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient, nor yet could yee (though yee woulde) make your commodities good cheape (except yee can deuise a waye how to liue without them & they with out you), which I thinke impossible, or else to vse exchaung of ware, for ware without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde), as I reade in the time of *Homer* it was, and also the Ciuile lawe doth affirme *the* same, which were very combersome, and would require much cariage of ware vp and downe, where nowe, by the benifit of Coyne, a man may by those tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a far of, without great trouble of cariadge; and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value.

It is not possible to keepe our Treasure from going forth of the Realme, if it be in more estimation elsewhere.

[1 Fol. 18]

That the dere lose neither the Gentleman nor Husbandmans hand.

Permutation of thinges before Coyne.

Husband. If neither the gentleman, nor I may remedy this matter, at wofe hands lieth it to bee holpen then?

Doctor. I will tell my mynde therein herafter; but firft let vs boulte out *the* caufe of this Dearth. And therefore let mee learne what other thing fhould be the caufe thereof.

Capper. Mary! thefe Inc[l]ofures and great Paftures are a great caufe of the fame, Whereby men do turne the erable lande, [1]beinge a liuing for diuerfe poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand; and where both Corne of all forte, and alfo cattell of all kinds were reared aforetime, now there is nothing but onely fheepe. And in fteede of C. or CC. perfons that had their liuing thereon, now bee there but three or foure Sheepherds, and the Maifter onely, that hath a liuing thereof.

[1 Fol. 18, back]

Complaynt against sheepemaisters.

Doctor. Yee touch a matter that is much to be confidered, albeit I take not that to bee onely *the* caufe of this dearth at this time; but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of inclofing doe afmuch increafe in xxx. yeares to come as it hath done in xxx. yeares paft, it may come to *the* great defolation and weaking of the ftrenght of this realme, which is more to be feared *then* dearth, & I thinke it to bee *the* moft occafion of any thinge yee fpake yet, of thefe wilde & vnhappy vprores *that* hath bene among vs; for by reafon of thefe Inclofures many Subiectes haue no Grounde to liue vppon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes fet a worke all a like, and therefore the people ftill increafinge, and their liuings diminifhing, it muft nedes come to paffe that a great part of *the* people fhalbe idle and lacke liuinge, for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Wherefore they muft needes, whan they lacke, murmur agayne them *that* haue plenty, and fo ftirre thefe tumultes.

That Inclosures is the occasion of desolation & vveaking the povver of the Realme.

Knighte. Experience fhould feeme to proue playnely, that Inclofures fhould bee profitable and not hurtfull to the common weale; for we fee *the* countryes where moft Inclofiers be, are moft wealthy, as Effex, Kent, Northhamptonfhyre, &c. And I haue hearde a Ciuilion once fay, that it was taken for a Maxime in his lawe (this faying), 'that which is poffeffed of many in common, is neglected of all'; & experience fheweth that Tenaunts in common be not fo good hufbandes as when euery man hath his parte in feueralty; alfo, I haue heard fay, that in the moft countreyes beyonde *the* Sea, they [2]knowe not what a common grounde meaneth.

Quod in communi possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur.

Reasons to defend Inclosures [2 Fol. 19]

I meane not of all Inclosures, nor yet all commins, but onely of ſuch Incloſures as turneth co*m*mon & erable fields into paſture, and violent Incloſures of commins without iuſt recompence of them that haue right to commen therein; for if lande were ſeuerally encloſed, to the intent to continewe huſbandry thereon, and euery man that hath right to commen had for his portion a piece of *the* ſame to himſelfe incloſed, I thinke, no harme, but rather good, ſhould come thereof, if euery man did agree thereto; but yet it woulde not be ſodaynely done, for there be many poore cottages in England, which hauing no lands of their own to liue one, but their handy labour and ſome refreſhing vppon the ſayde co*m*mens, which if they were ſodaynely thruſt out from that commodity, might make a greate tumulte and a diſorder in the commonweale; and percaſe alſo, if men were ſuffred to incloſe their grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it ſtill in tillage within a while after they woulde turne all to Paſture, as wee ſee they doe nowe, too faſt.

Doctor.

What kinde Inclosures i hurtfull.

[Poor, with land.]

If they finde more profit thereby then otherwiſe, why ſhould they not?

Knighte.

I can tel why they ſhould not, wel ynough, for they may not purchaſe the*m*ſelues profit by *that* which may be hurtfull to other; but how to bring them *that* they would not ſo doe, is al the matter; for ſo long as they finde more profit by paſture then by tillage, they will ſtill incloſe and turne erable land to paſtures. (q*uoth* the *Knight*) That well may be reſtrained by lawes, if it were thought moſt profitable for *the* common weale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte.

Doctor.

Whether th vvhich is pr fitable to or may be prof ble to all ot if they vse t same feate.

Knight.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a lawe therein, ſo many as haue profit by that matter reſiſting it. And if ſuch a lawe were made, yet men, ſtudying ſtill of there moſt profit, woulde defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

Doctor.

[1] I haue heard oftentymes much reaſoning in this matter, and ſome, in maintenaunce of theſe Incloſures, would make this reaſon: euery m[a]n is a Member of the commonweale, & that which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he would exerciſe the ſame feate. Therefore, that which is profitable to mee, & ſo to another, may be profitable to all, and ſo to *the* whole co*m*monweale. as a greate Maſſe of Treaſure conſiſteth of many pence, and one peney added to another, and ſo to the thirde and fourth, &c., maketh vp a

Knight.

[1 Fol. 19, b

greate ſomme; ſo doth each man added one to anothere make vp the whole body of a common weale.

Doctor. That reaſon is good, adding ſome what more to it: true it is, that that thing which is profitable to each man by himſelfe, ſo it be not preiud[i]cial to any other, is profitable to the whole commonweale, and not otherwiſe; or elſe ſtealing or robbing, which percaſe is profitable to ſome men, were profitable to the commonweale, which no man will admit: but this feate of incloſinge is ſo, *that* where it is profitable to one man, it is preiudiciall to many; therefore I thinke that reaſon ſufficiently aunſwered.

[Enclosures profit one man, hurt many.]

Knight. Alſo, they will laye forth another Reaſon, ſaying, that *that* which is our owne co*m*modityes ſhould bee alwayes aduaunced as much as might be, and theſe ſheepes profit is one of the greateſt commodities wee haue; therfore it ought to bee aduaunced as high as it may bee.

Doctor. I coulde aunſwere that argument with the like reaſon as I did the other; true it is, we ought to aduaunce our owne commodity as much as wee can, ſo it bee not to as much more the hinderaunce of our other commodities. Or elſe, where as the breede of Coneyes, Deere, and ſuchlike, is a commodity of this Realme; yet, if wee ſhoulde turne all our erable grounde to nouriſhe that commodity, and giue vp the Plough, and all other commod[i]ties for it, it were a great folly.

Euery commodity muste bee aduaunced so as it be not preiudiciall to other greater commodities.

Knight. [1 Fol. 20] [1]They will ſay agayne, that all Groundes bee not meete for ſheepe.

Doctor. It is a very ill Grounde, but either it ſerueth to breed ſheepe or to feede them vppon; and if al that is meete either for the one [or other], were turned to the mayntenaunce of Sheepe, and none other thinge, where ſhall wee haue our other commodities growe?

Knighte. All cannot doe ſo, though ſome doe.

*D*octor. What ſhould let them all to do *that* wicn they ſee ſome do? yea, what ſhould better encourage them thereto, then to ſe them that do it be come notable riche men in ſhort time by *th*e doing thereof? And then if euery man ſhould do ſo, one following the example of another, what ſhould enſew thereof, but a meere ſolitude and vtter deſolation of the whole realme, furniſhed onely with Sheepe and Sheepardes, in ſteed of good men, whereby it might be a pray to the enemyes *that* firſt would ſet vpon it? for then *th*e ſheepe Mayſters & theire Sheepherds could make no reſiſtaunce to the contrary.

[If all grew Sheep instead of good Men, England would be the prey of her foes.]

Who can let them to make their moſt aduauntage of *that* which is their owne? Knight.

Yes, mary! men may not vſe their owne things to the damage of the commonweale; yet for all this that I ſee, it is a thinge moſt neceſſary to bee prouided for, yet I cannot perceue it ſhoulde bee the only cauſe of this dearth, for this Incloſinge and greate graſinge, if it were occaſion of that dearth of any thing, it muſte bee of Corne cheifly, and nowe theſe many yeares paſt we had Corne good cheape inough. And the dearth *that* was then moſt, was of cattell, as Biefes and Muttons; and the broode of theſe are rather increaſed then diminiſhed by Paſtures and incloſinges. Doctor. No man may abuse his ovvn things to the preiudice of the common vveale.

Why ſhould men be then ſo much offended with theſe Incloſures? Knighte.

Yes, & not without great cauſe, for thoughe theſe many yeares paſt, through the great bounty of God, we haue had [1]much plenty of Corne whereby it hath beene good cheape, one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two moſt commonly were wont to do,—yet if theſe yeares had chaunſed to be but meanely fruitfull of Corne, (no doubt) we ſhould haue had a great dearth of Corne, as wee had of other thinges. And then it had bene, in a maner, an vndoing of the poore Commens. And if hereafter there ſhoulde chaunce any barren yeares of Corne to fall, wee ſhould bee aſſuered to finde as greate extremity in the price of Corne, from *that* it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And ſpecially if wee haue not ynough to ſerue within *the* Realme, which may happen hereafter, more likely then in time paſt, by reaſon that there is much lande ſince turned to paſture; for euery man will ſeeke where moſt aduauntage is, & they ſee there is moſt aduauntage in grafing and breeding then in huſbandry and tillage, by a great deale. And ſo longe as it is ſo, the Paſture ſhall euer incroch vpon tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary. Doctor. [1 Fol. 20, back] [The late large harvests have alone stopt the undoing of the poor.]

And how thinke yee that this might be remedied, then? Knight.

To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as the profit of the Grafier and ſheepe maiſter is. Doctor.

How coulde that be done? Knighte.

Mary, I coniecture two manner of wayes, but I feare me the deuiſes ſhall ſeeme at the firſt bluſh ſo diſpleaſaunt vnto you, ere yee conſider it throughly, that yee will reiect them ere yee examyne them; for we talke now to haue things good cheape; and then if I ſhould Doctor. Hovv Inclosiers may be remedied vvithout constraint of lavvs.

mencion a meane *that* ſhould make ſome thinges deerer for the time, I ſhoulde bee anon reiected, as a man *that* ſpake againſt euery mans purpoſe.

Knighte. Yet, ſay your minde and ſpare not, and though your reaſon at the firſt ſeeme vnreaſonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reaſonable ende.

Doctor. Remember what we haue in hand to treate of, not how the prices of thinges onely may bee broughte downe; but [1] how theſe Incloſures may bee broken vp, and huſbandry more vſed; of the prices of thinges we ſhall ſpeake heere after.

[1 Fol. 21]

Knight. [Kn.] Wee wil remember well that.

Doctor. What maketh men to multiply paſtures & Incloſures gladly?

Knighte. Mary, the profit that groweth thereby.

Doctor. It is very true, and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of theſe two thynges that I ſhall tell you, And yee ſhall make them as glad to exerciſe tillage as they doe nowe Paſtures.

Knight. What be thoſe two thinges?

Doctor. Mary, either make as litle gaynes to growe by *the* Paſtures as there groweth by *the* tillage, Or els make *that* there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the Paſtures, and then I doubt not but tillage ſhall be aſwell cheriſhed of euery man as Paſture.

[Make grazing pay less, or tillage more.]

Knight. And how may that be done?

Doctor. Mary, the firſt way is to make *the* wooll to be of as baſe pryce to the breeders thereof as the Corne is; and *that* ſhallbe, if yee make a like reſtraint of it for paſſing ouer Sea, vnwrought, as yee make of Corne; another, is to increaſe *the* cuſtome of Wooll that paſſeth ouer vnwrought. And by that the price of it ſhalbe abated to the breeders, and yet *the* price ouer Sea ſhal be neuer the leſſe; but, that which is increaſed in the price thereof on ſtraungers, ſhall come to the Queenes highneſſe, which is as profitable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieue them of other ſubſidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the price of Woolles; now to the inhaunſinge of the price of corne, to be as good to *the* huſbandman as wooll ſhould be; and that might be brought to paſſe if yee wil let it haue as free paſſage ouer Sea at all times, as yee haue now for Wooll.

That a like restraint of vvool shuld be made as is of Corne, or none to be sent ouer.

[Export of corn to be as free as that of wool.]

Marchaunt. By the firſt two wayes, men woulde ſend leſſe wooll ouer ſea then

they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes [1]cuſtome ſhould be dyminiſhed; by your latter way, the pryce of Corne ſhould be much enhaunſed, wherewith men would be much grieued. [1 Fol. 21, b

I wot wel it would bee deere at the firſt, but if I can perſwade you that it were reaſonable, it were ſo; and that the ſame could bee no hinderaunce to the Realme vniuerſally, but greater profit to the ſame, then I thinke ye would be content it ſhoulde be ſo; and as touchinge the Queenes cuſtome, I will ſpeake afterwarde. Doctor.

I graunt, if yee could ſhewe me that. Marchaun

I will aſſay it, albeit the matter be ſomewhat intricate; and, as I ſhewed you before, at the firſt vew would diſpleaſe many; for they would ſay, 'woulde yee make Corne deerer then it is, haue wee not dearth enough els with out that? Nay, I pray you finde the meanes to haue it better cheape, if it may bee, it is deare enough already', and ſuch other like reaſons would bee ſayd. But now let the huſbandman anſwere ſuch againe: 'Haue not you Graſiers rayſed the price of your Woolles and Felles? and you Marchaun*t*men, Clothiers, and Cappers, rayſed the price of your marchaundize and wares, ouer it was wont to bee in manner double? Is it not as good reaſon, then, that wee ſhould raiſe the price of our Corne? what reaſon is it you ſhould bee at large, and we ſhould be reſtrayned? Eyther let vs all be reſtrayned together, or els let vs bee all at like liberty. Ye may ſell your Wooll ouer Sea, your Felles, your Tallow, your Cheeſe, your Butter, and your Leather, (which ryſeth all by graſing) at your pleaſure, and for *the* deereſt peny yee can get for it; and wee ſhall not ſell out our Corne, except it bee at x d. the buſhel, or vnder, that is as much to ſay, as wee that be huſband men ſhall not ſell our ware, except it be for nothing, or for ſo litle as wee ſhall not be able to liue thereon.' Thinke you if the huſbandman here had ſpoke theſe wordes, that he did not ſpeake them ſomewhat [2]reaſonable? Doctor Reasons vvl the Husban man should be at like lil ty as other t sell his vvar [2 Fol. 22]

I thanke you with all my hart, for ye haue ſpoken in *the* matter more then I could doe my ſelfe, and yet nothing but that is moſt true. Wee felt the harme, but wee wiſt not what was the cauſe therof; many of vs ſawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but ſmall by the Plough, & therefore diuerſe of my Neighbours, that had in time paſt ſome two, ſome three, ſome four Ploughs of their owne, haue layde downe, ſome of them part, and ſome of them all their Teemes; Husband.

and turned either part or all their erable ground to Pafture, and there by haue waxed very riche men. And euery day ſome of vs incloſeth ſome part of his ground to Pafture; and were it not that our grounde lyeth in *the* common fieldes, entermingled one with another, I thinke alſo our fieldes had bene encloſed, of common agreement of all the townefhip, longe or this time. And to ſay *the* very truth, I, that haue encloſed litle or nothing of my grounde, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Neate, ſheepe, ſwyne, geeſe, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my grounde; Whereof, becauſe *the* price is ſomewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reaſon that many thinges doe belong to huſbandry which bee now ex[c]eedinge chargeable ouer they were in time paſt.

That by breeding the husband hath most cleare gaynes.

Capper. Though this reaſon of maiſter Doctors here doth pleaſe you well that be huſbandmen, yet it pleaſeth vs that be artificers nothing at all, which buy moſt both breade-corne and malt-corne for our peny; and whereas ye, maiſter doctor, ſay, that it were as good reaſon that the Huſbandman ſhould reyſe the price of his corne, and haue as free vent of the ſame ouer ſea, as we doe and haue of our wares, I cannot greately deny; but that yet I ſay that euery man hath neede of corne, but they haue not ſo much of other wares.

[1 Fol. 22, back] Doctor. [1]Therefore, the more neceſſary that corne is, the more be the men to be chearifhed that reareth it; for if they ſee there bee not ſo much profit in vſinge the plough as they ſee in other feates, thinke ye not that they will leaue that trade, and fall to another *that* they ſee more profitable? As yee may perceiue by the doings of this honeſt mans neighbours, which haue turned there erable lande to paſture, becauſe they ſee more profit by paſture then by tillage. Is it not an old ſaying in Latin, *Honos alit artes?* that is to ſay, profit or aduauncement nourifheth euery facultie; which ſayng is ſo true, that it is alowed by the common iudgement of al men. Wee muſt vnderſtand alſo, that all thinges that ſhould bee done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced, or to be conſtrayned by the ſtraight penalties of the lawe, but ſome ſo, and ſome either by allurement and rewardes rather. For what lawe can compell men to be induſtrious in trauayle, or labour of body, or ſtudious to learne any ſcience or knowledge of the mynde? to theſe thinges they may be well prouoked, encouraged, and allured;

That profit aduaunceth all faculties.

Honos alit Artes.

if they that be induſtrious and paynefull, bee rewarded well for their paines; and bee ſuffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their laboures, and ſo likewyſe they that be learned, be aduaunced and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in Learning; euery man will then ſtudy, either to bee induſtrious in bodely labour, or ſtudious in thinges that pertaynes to knowledge. Take theſe rewards from them, & go about to compell them by lawes thereto, what man wil plough or digg *the* ground, or exerciſe any manuall art wherein is any paine? or who will aduenture ouer ſeaes for any Marchaundiſe, or vſe any facultie wherein any perill or daunger ſhould be, ſeing his reward ſhalbe no more then his *that* ſits ſtill? But yee wil percaſe aunſwere me, *that* all their reward ſhal not be taken away, but part of it. Yet then yee muſt graunt me, *that* as if all theſe rewardes were taken from them, all theſe faculties muſt [1]decaie; ſo if part of that reward be miniſhed, the vſe of theſe faculties ſhall miniſh withall after the rate, and ſo they ſhal be the leſſe occupied, the leſſe they be rewarded & eſteemed. But now to our purpoſe: I thinke it more neceſſary to deuiſe a meane how huſbandry may be more occupied rather then leſſe; which I cannot perceiue how it may be brought to paſſe, but as men do ſe the more gaines therein, the gladder they will occupie that feate; and this to be true (that ſome things in a common weale muſt be forced with paines, and ſome by rewards allured) may appeare by *that* which the wiſe and politique ſenatour *Tully* wryteth: ſaying, that it was the wordes of *Solon*, which was one of the ſeuen wyſe men of *Greece*, and of thoſe ſeuen the onely man that made lawes, that a common weale was holden vp by two things chiefely, that is, by reward and payne; of which words I gather, that men ſhould be prouoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments; and to abſtaine from ill doinges by paines. Trowe you, if huſband men be not better chearyſhed or prouoked then they be to exerciſe *the* plough, but that in proceſſe of time, ſo many ploughes wil be layd downe, as I feare me there be all ready, that if one vnfruitefull yeare ſhall happen amonge vs, as commonly doth once in ſeuen yeares, we ſhould then not onely haue dearth, but alſo ſkarcenes of corne, that we ſhould be driuen to ſeeke it from outwarde parties, and pay deare for it.

How would yee haue them better chearifhed to vſe the plough?

To let them haue more profit by it then they haue, & liberty to

That s thinge be allu revvar some o vvith s paynes in a co Weale.

[1 Fol.

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Tulliu Ep. a

Knigh

Docto

[Free Trade in Corn needed.]

ſell it at all times, & to all places as freely as men may do other things; but then (no doubt) the price of corne would riſe, ſpecially at *the* firſt, more then at length; yet *that* price would prouoke euerie man to ſet *the* plough in the grounde, to Till waſte grounds, yea, & to turne the lands *that* is now encloſed for paſture, to erable; for euery man will the gladder follow [1] that, wherein they ſee the more gaines; and thereby muſt nedes enſue, both greater plenty of corne within the realme, and alſo much treaſure ſhould be brought into the realme by reaſon thereof; And, beſides that, plenty of all other victuall encreaſed amonge vs.

[1 Fol. 23, back]

Knight. That would I faine heare you declare howe.

Doctor. Ye haue heard that by this free vent and ſale of corne, *the* huſbandmans profit is aduaunced; then it is ſhewed that euery man naturally will follow that wherein he ſees profit enſue; therefore men wil the gladder occupy huſbandry; & the more doe occupie huſbandry, the more plenty of Corne muſt nedes be; And *the* more plenty of corne there is, thereof the better cheape; And alſo the more will be ſpared ouer *that* which ſhall ſuffice for the realme. And then, that may bee ſpared in a good yeare, ſhall bringe vs againe either corne, or els the commodities of other countreis neceſſary for vs. Then the more huſbandry there is occupied, the more vniuerſall breede ſhould be of all victuals of Neate, Sheepe, Swine, Geeſe, Hennes, Capons, & Chickens; for al theſe are reared much on corne.

Profit will make husbandmen more occupied, & thereby more profit, and consequently better cheape of corne.

Knight. If men ſhoulde ſell, when a good ſeaſonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus when the Realme is ſerued, what ſhoulde wee doe if a barren yeare ſhoulde happen, when no ſtore of corne is left of the good yeare before?

Doctor. Fyrſt, ye muſte conſider that men will bee ſure they will keepe inoughe to finde themſelues within the realme, ere they ſell any forth of the ſame; and hauing libertie to ſell at their pleaſure, doubte yee not but they had leuer ſell their corne two pence or three pence in a buſhell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduenture, in ſending it ouer, and ſell it dearer, except it be for much more gaines. And thus men beinge prouoked with luker, wil keepe the more corne, loking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby muſt needes be great ſtore; [2] and though they did not ſo, but ſhould ſell ouer ſea all that they might ſpare ouer that

[Husbandmen sure to keep a stock of corn in hand.]

[2 Fol. 24]

ſerues the realme when *the* yere is plentifull; yet, by reaſon that through the meanes aforeſaid moe Ploughes are ſet aworke then would ſuffice the Realme in a plentifull yeare; if a ſcarce yeare ſhould fal after, the corne of ſo many ploughes as in a good yeare would be more then enough in an vnfruitefull yeare, at the leaſte would be ſufficient to finde the Realme; & ſo ſhould *the* Realme be ſerued with enough of corne in a ſcarce yeare, & in a plentiful yere no more then inough, which might be ſold ouer for great treaſure or greater commodities; where now in a plentifull yeare we ſeeke to haue but aſmuch as may ſuffice *the* Realme. Then if a ſcarſe yeare ſhould happen, we muſt needes lacke of our owne to ſerue, and ſhould be dryuen to buy from beyond the ſea; and then, if they were as enuious as wee bee, might not they ſay, when we requyred any corne of them, (that ſeing they could get none from vs when we had plenty,) why ſhould they let vs haue any corne when wee haue ſcarſitie? Surely common reaſon would that one region ſhould helpe an other when it lackes; and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey ſhould haue all commodities; but that which one lackes, an other brings forth; & that *that* one countrey lacketh this yeare, another hath plenty thereof, commonly the ſame yeare, to the intent men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, & thereby loue and ſocietie to growe among all men the more. but here we would doe as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to liue all of our ſelues; & as though wee mighte make the market of all things as wee liſt our ſelues. For though God is bountifull vnto vs, & ſends vs many greate commodities, yet wee coulde not liue without the commodities of others. And, for example, of Iron and Salte, though wee haue competently thereof, yet wee haue [1]not the thirde parte to ſuffice the Realme, and that can in no wiſe be ſpared if yee wil occupy huſbandry; then tar, rozyn, pitch, Oyle, and ſteele, wee haue none at all; and for Wynes, ſpyces, lynnen cloth, ſilkes, & coloures, though we might liue indifferently without them, yet far from any ciuility ſhould it be, as I deny not but many things wee might haue heere ſufficiently that wee buy now from beyond ſea, and many things wee might ſpare wholly; whereof, if time will ſerue, I ſhall talke more here after. But nowe to returne to the firſt poynte I ſpake of before: to bee one of the meanes to bring huſbandry vp, that is, by baſing *the*

[Free T Corn w increas growth that we have pl even in year.

[God ha daind th country help an

[We ca without countrie product

[1 Fol. 2

and we exchang them fre

eſtimacion of wooll & felles. Though I take not that way to bee as good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that may baſe any of our commodities, except it bee for the inhaunſing of a better commodity; but if both commodities may bee inhaunſed together, as by the laſt deuiſe I thinke they might be; I allowe that way better, neuertheleſſe, where as you (brother Mercer) ſhewed afore, that either by reſtraining of wooll and other commodities, till they were equal within the Realme after the rate of the corne, or inhaunſing the cuſtome of wooll and other the ſayd commodities, till the price beſide the cuſtome of the ſayd commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion, *the* Quenes cuſtome ſhoulde bee diminiſhed; I thinke not ſo, for the one way, as much as ſhe ſhoulde haue for *the* more wooll at litle cuſtome ventred ouer, ſo much ſhould we haue for the leſſe wooll at a greater cuſtome ventred. And the other way, as much as her Grace ſhould loſe by her cuſtome of wooll, ſo much or more ſhould her grace winne by *the* cuſtome of Clothes made within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this later deuiſe, what, if they ſhould take place, we muſt doe, that is, if wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee muſt ſpare many other things that we haue now from beyonde ſea, for wee muſt alwayes take heede that wee buy no more [1] of ſtraungers then we do ſell them, for ſo we ſhould impoueriſh our ſelues and enrich them. For hee were no good huſband that had no other yerely reuenewes but of his huſbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he ſelles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might ſaue much by our treaſure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it; what number firſt of trifles comes hether from beyond the ſea that wee might either cleane ſpare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay ineſtimable treaſure euery yere, or els exchaunge ſubſtantiall wares and neceſſary for them, for the which we might receaue great treaſure. Of *the* which ſort I meane as well looking glaſſes as drinking, and alſo to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, penners, Inkehornes, Toothepickes, Gloues, Kniues, Dagges, Owches, Brouches, Agglettes, Buttons of ſilke & ſiluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thouſand like thinges that might either be cleane ſpared, or els made within the

Whether the Quee. custome should be diminished by restraint of vvoll vnvvrought.

[We must keep the balance of trade with foreigners equal.]

[1 Fol. 25]

Howve straungers fetch from vs our great for very trifles.

[Foreign knicknacks that we could well do without, or make here.]

realme ſufficient for vs; and as for ſome thinges, they make it of our owne commodities and ſend it vs againe, whereby they ſet their people a worke, and doe exhauſte much treaſure out of this Realme: as of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerſeis; of our felles they make Spaniſh ſkins, Gloues, and Girdels; of our Tinne, Saltſellers, Spoones, and Diſhes; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges; Paper both white and browne. What Treaſure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for euery of Theſe thinges? and then for all together, it exceedes myne eſtimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other Gloues, then be made in *Fraunce* or in *Spayne;* nor Kerſie, but it muſt bee of *Flaunders* die; nor Cloth, but *French* or Fryſeadowe; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of *Venice* making, or Millen; nor Dagger, Swearde, [1]Knife or Gyrdle, but of ſpaniſh making, or ſome outward countrey, no, not as much as a Spurre but that is fetched at the Milleuer. I haue heard within theſe xl. yeares, when there were not of theſe Haberdaſhers that ſelles french or Millen Cappes, Glaſſes, Kniues, Daggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, and ſuch thinges, not a doſen in all London; & now from the tower to Weſtminſter alonge, euery ſtreate is full of them, and their ſhoppes glitter and ſhyne of Glaſſes as well drynking as looking; yea, all maner of veſſell of the ſame ſtuffe,—paynted Cruſes, gaye Daggers, Knyues, Swordes, and Gyrdels; that it is able to make any temperate man to gaſe on them and to buy ſomewhat, though it ſerue to no purpoſe neceſſarie. What neede they beyonde ſea to trauaile to *Perowe,* or ſuch farre countreies, or to trie out the ſandes of the ryuers of *Tagus* in *Spaine, pactolus* in *Aſia,* and *Ganges* in *India,* to get amonge them after much labour ſmall ſparkes of gold; or to digge the deepe bowels of the earth for the mine of Siluer or Golde, when they can of vile claie not farre ſought for, and of pryple[2] ſtones and Ferne rootes make good Golde and Siluer, more then a great many of Siluer and Golde mines would make. I thinke not ſo litle as a hundreth thouſand poundes a yeare is fetched of our Treaſure for thinges of no valure of themſelues, but onely for the labours of the workers of the ſame, which are ſet a worke all on our charges. What groſnes of wits be we of, that ſe it, and ſuffer ſuch a continual ſpoyl to be made of our good and treaſure by ſuch meanes! and ſpecially that will ſuffer our owne commodities to goe and ſet ſtraungers a worke, and then

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Hovv straungers finde their nation vvith our commodities, and on our costes.

to buy them againe at their handes; as of our Woll they make and die Kerſies, Friſeadowes, broade Clothes, and Cappes beyonde ſea, & bryng them hether to bee ſolde againe; wherein I pray you note what they doe: they make vs pay at the ende for our owne ſtuffe againe. Yea, for *the* ſtraungers cuſtome, for their worke[1]manſhippe and colours, and laſtely for the ſecond cuſtome in the retourne of the wares into the realme again; where as, by working the ſame within the realme, our owne now ſhould be ſet a worke at the charges of ſtraungers, the cuſtome ſhould be borne all by ſtraungers to the Queene, & the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

[1 Fol. 26]

[Why don't we make up our own materials?]

Knight.

If yee ponder ſuch thinges and other, which goeth ouer Sea yerely from vs for the ſame, yee ſpeake to litle by as much againe; but one thinge I haue marked, that albeit it is true, that though ſtraungers buy their woll deare, & pay twiſe cuſtome, that is, both at going out of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the ſame ſhalbe better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that ſhould come, I would faine knowe.

[Foreign work, tho' doubly taxt, sells cheaper than ours does.]

Doctor.

Whether it come of our ſloth, or of our chargeable fare, or of our idlenes, which we Engliſhmen vſe, percaſe, more then other nations, I knowe not; yet it were better for vs to paie more to our owne Countreymen for theſe wares, then to ſtraungers leſſe; for how litle gaines ſo euer goeth ouer, it is loſt to vs cleare; but how much ſo euer *the* gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all ſaued with in the Realme; and a like reaſon as you make now heere, Once a Booke-ſeller made mee, when I aſked him why we had not white and browne paper made within *the* realme, aſwell as they had made beyond the ſea? Then he aunſwered mee *that* there was paper made a while within *the* realme. At the laſt the man perceiued that made it, that he could not aforde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond *the* ſea, and ſo he was forced to lay downe making of paper; and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper becauſe it was made here; but I would eyther haue the paper ſtaied from comming in, or ſo burdened with cuſtome, that by that time it came hether, our men mighte aforde their paper better cheape then ſtraungers might do [2]theires, the cuſtomes conſidered.

Why straungers may aforde vvares better cheape made by them, then vve may the same made here, & yet that it vvere better for vs to buy our ovvne though they vvere dearer.

[An English Paper-maker undersold by foreign paper imported.

The latter should have been heavily customd.]

[2 Fol. 26, back]

Knight.

There, ye ſpeake a thinge that the Queenes Atturney would not agree vnto; for if ſuch ware were made within the realme, then the

Queenes cuſtome ſhould be leſſe, by reaſon that litle or no ſuch wares ſhould come from beyond the Sea.

If the Queenes Atturney did regard as well the profit that ſhould come after, as that which is preſent afore *the* eyes, hee would agree to this well inough; for, by this meanes, ineſtimable treaſure ſhould be ſaued within *the* realme; and then it could not growe to the profit of the ſubiects; but it muſt needes growe alſo to the profite of the Queene, for the wealth of the ſubiectes is the profit of the Queene; and in mine opinion they doe not beſte prouide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a preſente commoditie, but rather that com-modity that may longeſt endure without griefe of her ſubiects. Doctor

The most durable & vniuersal profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

You would haue a lawe made, that no ſuch ware ſhould be brought from beyond the ſea to be ſoulde heere, of ſuch things as could be made heere as wel as there. Knight.

Yea, forſooth! ſo would I wiſhe. Doctor.

I was once in a Parlyament, when ſuch a thinge was mooued, but onely for Cappes, that none made beyond ſea ſhould bee ſould heere within the Realme, and then it was aunſwered by a greate wiſe man, that it was to bee feared leaſt it touched the league made betwene *the* Princes highneſſe & ſome forraigne Prince; what thinke you, then, would haue bene ſaid, if yee would haue moued a lawe to be made of our wooll, our Tynne, our Led, and Hydes, beyond ſea, ſhould haue bene ſould heere? Knight.

Whether our restraints doe touch the leagues made vvith other Prynces.

I cannot tell, whether that ſhould touch the league or no, nor whether any ſuch league be: but I ſay to you, *that* I think it a mar-uaylous league that ſhoulde let vs to make lawes to binde our owne ſubiects, that might be profitable to them; [1] and if there were any ſuch league, I had leauer it were broken then kept, which, being broken, ſhoulde doe vs good, & being kept, ſhould doe vs harme; and I ſuppoſe, that when wee enter any league, the ſame is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinderaunce; wherefore, that league would not be eſteemed *that* might hinder our common weale. Doctor.

[1 Fol. 27]

No league is to be cherished that is not for the commonvveale.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the ſea, that wares made within this realme ſhould not bee ſoulde there, as they made of late, when wee deuiſed a lawe that no Wynes ſhoulde bee caried hether in ſtraungers bottomes. Knighte.

Yet, ſhould they be enforced rather to diſſolue their law then we Doctor.

[English exports and imports.]

ours; for our ſtuffe is neceſſary for them *that* is made here: as cloth, Leather, Beire, tallow, butter, cheeſe, pewter veſſel, &c. Theirs bee to vs, more to ſerue pleaſure then neceſſity: as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glaſſes, gally Pots, Dyalls, Orenges, Pippens, and Cheries; yee, their chiefe commodities might be better ſpared of vs then retayned of them: as wynes, ſilkes, ſpices, yron, and Salt. I would to God wee woulde followe but the example of a poore Hauen towne, *that* I heard of it to do of late, heere in *the* Marches of Walles, called *Carmarthen*, when there came a certayne Veſſell thether out of *England*, all Laden with Appells, which aforetime was wont to brynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne ſhoulde buy the ſayd Appells vpon a great payne, and ſo the Bote ſtoode ſo long in the Hauen without ſale or vent, till *the* Appells were putrified and loſt. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had ſtayed his ſale and vent? the Bayliffe aunſwered againe, that the ſayd veſſell came thether to fetch the beſt wares they had in the countrey, as Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll; and in ſteede thereof hee ſhould leaue them in their countrey but appells, that ſhould be ſpent & waſted in leſſe then a weeke. And ſayd, 'bring vnto [1]vs corne or malt as yee were wont to doe, whereof *the* countrey hath need, and yee ſhall be welcome at all times, & yee ſhall haue free vent and ſale thereof in our Porte': thinke yee that the cities of London, Southhampton, Briſtowe, Cheſter, and other moe, might they not learne a good leſſon of this poore Welch towne in this doing? Might not they ſay, when ſhippes full of Orrenges, Pippens, or Cheries come in, that if they would agayne take Plummes, Damozins, and ſtrawberries for them, they ſhoulde haue free exchaunge? and when they bring in Glaſſes, Puppets, Rattles, and ſuch like thinges, they ſhould haue like trifles for them, if any ſuch were to bee had within this Realme, as there bee many; but if they come for our Woolles, for our Clothes, Kerſeyes, Corne, Tinne, Ledde, yea, our Golde and ſiluer, and ſuch ſubſtantiall and neceſſary thinges, let them bring in againe Flax, Tarre, Oyles, Fyſhe, & ſuch like. And not to vſe them as men doe litle Children, geue them an appell for the beſt Iewell *that* they haue about them. And thus wee are empouerifhed of our treaſure & chiefe commoditie, and cannot perceaue it; ſuch is the fineneſſe of ſtraungers wits and the groſnes of ours; yet it were more tollerable if wee did

A vworthy example to be followed in vsing of straungers.

[The Caermarthen Bayliff who refused to let English apples be exchang'd for Welsh friezes and wool.]

[1 Fol. 27, back]

[Why don't we imitate the Welshmen, and refuse to change our Stuffe and buy for foreign rattles, &c., but consent to do as they would do, fools, &c.?]

no more but chearifhe their deuifes *that* be ftraungers; but we haue in times paft deuifed our felues many other wayes, to our owne impouerifhment, and to exhauft our treafure. And now I muft come to that thinge that you (brother Mercer) touched afore, which I take to be the chiefe caufe of all this dearth of thinges (in comparifon of former times) and of the manif[e]ft impouerifhinge of the Realme, and might in fhort time haue ben *that* deftruction of the fame, if it had not bene *the* rather remedied, that is, the bafing or rather the corrupting of our coyne & treafure; whereby we deuifed a way for the ftraungers, not only to buy our Gold and filuer for braffe, and to exhauft this realme of treafure; but alfo to buy our chiefe commodities [1]in maner for naught; yet it was thought this fhould haue beene a meane, not onely to bryng our treafure home, but to bring much of theirs; but the experience playnly declared the contrary, fo that it were but a very Dullerdes parte now to be in any doubt thereof.

Of the coyn vvhat harm might haue grovvne of alteration o

[The chief of all our ev the debasin our coin.]

[1 Fol. 28]

Forfooth, and fuch a Dullerd am I in deede, that I cannot perceaue what hinderance it fhould be to the realme to haue this mettall more then that (for our Coyne), feeing the Coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, & when it is ftricken with *the* Princes feale to be currant, what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of, yea, though it were but Leather or paper?

Knight.

[Coin may be any met leather, or paper.]

You fay but as moft fort of men doe fay, and yet they bee farre wide from the trueth, as men that doe not confider the thinge groundly; for by that reafon God would neuer fend dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickely remedy it. As, if Corne were at a Crowne a bufhell, the Prince might prouide Crounes enowe for him felfe, and alfo his fubiects, made of braffe, to pay for the fame; and fo to make it as eafy for him and his fubiectes to pay a Crowne of fuch mettall for a bufhell, as it fhould be for them now to pay a penny for the fame; and as the pryce of Corne doth rife, the Prince might raife the eftimation of his coyne after the rate, and fo keepe the coyne alwayes at one eftate in deede, though in name it fhould feeme to rife. As for example, fuppofe Wheate this yeare to be at a grote a bufhell, & the next yeare at two grotes, the Prince might caufe the grote to be called viii.d.; and if the bufhel rofe to xii.d. the bufhel, he might raife the eftate of the grote to xii.d.; and fo whether it were by making of coyne of other mettalles then be of pryce receaued among all men, or

Doctor.

[Argument against a currency no based on go silver.]

by enhaunſing the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of eſtimation, the Prince might, if your reaſon were true, keepe alwaies not onely corne, but alſo all other victualls and neceſſaries for [1] mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they ſhould vary; but yee may ſee dayly by experience *the* con*t*rary hereunto, for when God ſendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither Emperor nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne eaſe as for their ſubiectes; and might ſoone doe it, if your reaſon afore touched might take place; that is, if either they might make coyne of what eſtimation they would, of vile mettalls; or els enhaunce the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what ſu*m*me they would. Yet a man at the firſt bluſh woulde thinke that a Prince in his realme might doe this eaſily, & make what coyne he would to be currant, and of what eſtimation it pleaſed him; but he that ſo thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are vnderſtanded by them, as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ownce of ſiluer, & xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of Siluer; by the grote of the firſt ſorte, the ſixth parte of an ounce, and by a grote of the other ſorte is the twelfth part of an ownce of ſiluer vnderſtanded; and ſo there muſt be as much difference betwene the one grote & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thing & the halfe, though either of both be called but vnder one name, that is, a grote; we muſt conſider, though gould & ſiluer be the mettals co*m*monly wherein the coyne is ſtricken to be the tokens for exchaunge of thinges betwene man and man, yet it is the wares that are neceſſary for mans vſe, that are exchaunged indeede vnder the outward name of the coyne; and it is the raritie & plenty of ſuch wares that makes the price thereof hier or baſer. And becauſe it were very combrous and chargeable to cary ſo much of the wares that we haue aboundance of, to exchaunge for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and alſo for that they could not be ca[2]ried ſo farre without periſhing of the ſame, nor proporcioned ſo euen, as there ſhould be always neither more or leſſe brought of our wares then were equiualent with other wares that we receiue; therefore were the mettalles of gold & ſiluer deuiſed as wares of litle weight, moſt in value, & leaſt combrous to cary, and leaſt ſubiect to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof;

[1 Fol. 28, back]

The substaunce and quantity is esteemed in coyne, & not the name

[Wares are the subject of exchange, tho' under the name of coin.]

[2 Fol. 29]

Aristo. lib. 5 Eth.

And may be cut and deuided in moſte pieces and portions, without any loſſe, to bee as *the* mean in Wares to exchaunge all other wares by. And if the thing were to be new deuiſed, neceſſity would cauſe vs to deuiſe *the* ſame way againe. For, put *the* caſe there were no vſe of money amonge vs, but onely exchaunge of wares for wares, as ſomtimes I do read hath ben; we might at a time haue ſuch plenty of things in our realme, as, for exa*m*ple, of corne, wolles, & Felles, Cheeſe & Butter, and ſuch other co*m*modities, as were ſufficient for vs; and there ſhoulde remaine with vs ſuch great ſtore that wee could not ſpend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without periſhing. Would not we be glad to exchaunge that abu*n*dance of thinges *tha*t could not abyde the longe keeping, for ſuch wares *tha*t woulde abyde the keeping? which we mighte exchaunge againe for ſuch wares as I rehearſed, or any other as neceſſary, whe*n* ſcarſity of the ſame ſhould happen amonge vs. Yea, verely wee ſhoulde ſtudy to haue in that exchaunge ſuch wares as would go in leaſt romth, and continue longeſt without periſhing, and be caried to and fro with leaſt charge, & be moſt currant at all times and at all places. Is not Gold & Siluer[1] the thinges that be moſt of that ſorte, I meane moſt of value, moſt light to be caried, longeſt able to abide the keping, apteſt to receiue any forme, marke, & moſte currant in all places, & moſt eaſely deuided into many pieces without loſſe of the ſtuffe? In ſome of theſe poynts I confeſſe precious Stones do excel both Siluer & Gold, as in value or lightneſſe of cariage; but, then, they may not be deuided [2]without periſhing of the ſubſtaunce; nor put agayne together after they be once deuided, nor many of them abide ſo many daungers without periſhing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or ſtampe eaſely, nor be ſo vniuerſally eſtemed; therefore they be not ſo meete for Inſtruments of Exchaunge as Siluer and Golde be, or els they for their pieces and lyghtneſſe of cariage might be. And, becauſe Gold and Siluer haue all theſe commodities in them, they are choſen by common aſſent of the whole world, that is knowe*n* to be of any ciuility, to be inſtruments of exchaunge to meaſure all things by, moſt apte to be either caried far or kepte in ſtore to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance, and to purchaſe by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue moſt neede. As for example, if there were no coyne curra*n*t, but exchaunge of thinges, as I

That the ne sity of mutu traffique anc commodity exchaunge m Coyne to be deuised.

Hom. F. emptione vendicatio ne. Li. I.

[1 *orig.* Siluer]

Why Gold & siluer were the stuffe m meete for coine to bee stricken in.

[Precious st not so fit.]

[2 Fol. 29, b.

Publica m sura. Aris Eth.

ſayd ſometime there was; ſet this caſe, that a Man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well ſpend in hys houſe in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee myghte not keepe it ſo longe, or till a deare or ſkarſe yeare ſhoulde come; and if he did, much of it ſhoulde periſh, or all; were it not wiſedome for him then to exchaunge the ouerplus of that corne, for ſome other ware that might be longer kept with out daunger of waſt, or deminiſhing, for *the* which he myghte at all times haue either Corne againe at his neede, or ſome other neceſſarie thinge? Yeas, no doubt, if there were no vſe of Siluer or Golde, he would haue Tinne, braſſe, or Leadde, or ſuch other like thing that would abide the keeping with leaſt detriment, and would deſire to haue that thinge moſt that were in leaſt weight, moſt in value, and in leaſte daunger of wearing or periſhing, & moſte vniuerſally receiued, wherein Gold and Siluer exceſſes all other mettalles.

[Convenience of a metallic currency.]

Knight. What makes theſe Mettalles to bee of more value then other?

Doctor. No doubt their excellencie aboue other mettalles, both [1]in pleaſure and vſe; partly the rarity of them.

[1 Fol. 30]

Knight. What be theſe qualities? If yee prayſe the Gold for his weight or plyablenes, Led doth excel it in theſe pointes; if yee commend his colour, Syluer by many mens iudgementes (whoſe colour reſembleth *the* day lyght for his clereneſſe) paſſeth him. And Herroldes preferres it in Armes, becauſe it is furtheſt of ſeene in *the* Fielde, nor neuer ſeemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer ſo farre of; where all other ſhall ſeeme blacke farre of, and ſo looſe the ſtrengthe of theyr owne.

[The merits of Silver.]

Doctor. As much as the Led approcheth the Golde in that point—I ſpeake of weight and pliablenes—it is caſt behinde it in other qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it either paſſeth Siluer, by ſome other mens iudgementes, becauſe it reſembles the colour of the celeſtiall bodies, as the Sunne and Starres, being the moſt excellent thynges that commeth vnder the view of the bodely ſences of man; or it is equivalent to it in armes. I know not how much it is eſteemed; well I wote Prynces blaſe their armes moſt with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the ſame, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of ſo wel, I cannot tel. But now to eſteeme theyr other qualityes: Golde is neuer waſted nor conſumed by fire; yea, the more it is burned the more puerer it is; which ye can ſay of none other mettalles. Then it weares not leſſe by occupying, it defyleth not the thing

Why Golde, & Syluer are eſtemed afore al other mettalles.

it toucheth, as Siluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, whych is a declaration that the ſtuffe falleth away, albeit wryters do maruell that it ſhould draw ſo black a line, being of that brightnes and colour it ſelf. Then there is no ruſt nor ſcurfe *that* diminiſheth the goodnes or waſteth *the* ſubſtaunce of Gold; it abides *the* freating, and licours of Salt & Vinegar *with*out damage, which weareth any other thing; it needes no fire, ere it be made Golde, as others require; it is Golde as ſoone as it is founde; it draweth without wooll, [1] as it were Woll; it is eaſily ſpred in leaues of maruailous thinnes; yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it, yea, Stones and Timber; it is alſo nothinge inferiour in commodity of making veſſels or other Inſtrumentes to ſiluer, but rather puerer, cleaner, and more ſweete to kepe any liquor in. Next him approcheth Siluer in commenda[ti]ons, as in clennes, beauty, ſweetenes, and lightnes. And it ſerues not onely to make veſſels and other inſtrum*ent*s, but it is alſo ſponne, but not without Woll, as Golde may bee, though they could not doe it aforetime, but with Gold onely, as I haue hearde; church Veſtures were made onely of Gold then, and now of late of this Siluer, being ſpon with ſilke and guilte, they counterfeite the olde exceſſe of clothe of Golde and tyſſue. Now to ſpeake of other mettalls, yee ſee what vſes they ſerue for, whych if theſe were away ſhould bee more eſteemed. Then I toulde you the raritye commends the ſayd mettals of Golde and Siluer yet more the*n* this. For as they do excel in qualities, ſo Dame nature ſeemes to haue layde them vp in a further warde, then her other giftes, to ſhew vs that all fayre things be rare, and *that* the fayreſt thinges, as they be hardeſt to be attained, ſo they be moſt to be eſteemed. If a Glaſſe (as *Eraſmus* ſayth wel) were as rare as ſiluer, it ſhould be as deare as ſiluer, and not without cauſe; who could glaſe a Window with ſiluer ſo as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and yet neuertheleſſe receiue the commodity of the light through *the* ſame to his houſe, as with glaſſe he might? And ſo I might commend other things for their vſe afore Gold or Siluer, as Iron & ſteele, with whom yee may make better tooles for many neceſſary vſes then with Gold or Siluer; but for the vſes that we talke of, Siluer and Golde do clearely excel al other mettals. I paſſe ouer that matter. Thus I haue ſhewed ſome reaſon why theſe mettals of Golde & Syluer are growen in eſtimation aboue other.

[The merits of Gold over Silver.]

[1 Fol. 30, back]

[The uses of Silver.

It is now spun into Church vestments.]

[The scarceness of Gold and Silver makes them valuable.

Were Glass as scarce as silver, it 'ld be as dear.]

Knight.
[1 Fol. 31]

[1]Why doe Kynges and Princes ſtricke theſe mettalles and other with a Coyne? but becauſe they would haue that coyne, of what value ſo euer it be, to beare the eſtate that *the* coine pretendeth, which they did in vaine if they could make the mettal that beareth that, to be neither better nor worſe in eſtimation. Then I had as liefe haue ſmal gadds or plats of Siluer and Gold, without any coyne at al to go abroade from man to man for exchaunge.

Why Golde & Siluer vvere coined.

Doctor.

Surely the time was ſo, (euen amonge the *Romaynes*, when neither braſſe, ſiluer, nor golde was coined;) but were eſteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remayneth theſe vocables of coynes, as *Libra, Pondo, Dipondius*, as *Solidus, Denarius*, wordes of waightes, that afterward were geuen to coynes, pretending *the* ſame weights. Alſo the common officers that waighed theſe rude mettals were called *Libri pendes*, whereof we haue mencion made in *the* Ciuile lawe; but, becauſe in great traffique & aſſembly of buyers, & ſuch, it was tedious to tary for *the* weighing of theſe Mettalles, and trying, it was thought good that the Princes ſhould ſtrike thoſe mettals with ſeueral markes, for the variety of the weights they were of, to aſſure *the* Receiuor the ſame to be no leſſe then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they ſtrake *the* pounde weight with the marke of the pound, and two ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, and ſo after the variety of *the* weights of other pieces variable markes; whereby began the names of Coynes, ſo that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weighing and trying of euery piece; beinge aſſured by the marke of the Prynce, that euery piece contayned the weight that was ſignified by the marke ſet on euery one; the Prynces credite was then ſuch amonge their ſubiects as they doubted nothinge therein. As ſoone as they attempted to doe otherwiſe, that is, to marke the halfe pound with *the* marke of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, [2]a while their credite made thoſe coynes currant. As I read among *the Romaynes* practized more then once, but aſſoone as it was eſpied, the two pieces of halfe pounds went no farther then *the* one piece of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the firſt, they loſt at the laſt in payment of their rentes, cuſtomes, and duties. And ſo the nearer Eaſt, the further from Weſt. And they conſequently loſt their credite; much like as I haue knowne certain townes in England to haue done

Plini lib. 33 Cap. 3.

Sometime braſſe, ſiluer & Gold vvere vveighed before Coyne made.

Inst. de test. ord. §. 1.

[Coin markt to guarantee its weight.]

[2 Fol. 31, back]

Why lesse commeth of credence.

which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to ſet their ſeales to the ſame; while they kept the rate truly, ſtraungers did but looke on the ſeale, and receaue theyr ware, wherby theſe townes had great vent of theyr clothes, and conſequently proſpered very well. Afterward, ſome in theſe townes, not contented with reaſonable gaines contynuall, and deſiering more, Deuiſed clothes of leſſe lengthe, bredth, and goodneſſe, then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the ſeale to haue as much Money for the ſame as they had before for good clothes, and for a time they gat much, and ſo abaſed the credite of theyr Predeceſſors to theyr ſinguler Luker, which was recompenced with the loſſe of theyr Poſterity. For after theſe Clothes were founde faulty, for all their ſeales, they were not onely neuer the better truſted, but much leſſe for theyr Seale, yea, though their Clothes were well made; for when theyr vntruth and falſhoode was eſpied, then no man woulde buy theyr clothes, till they were enſearched and vnfoulded, regarding nothing the ſeale; and yet becauſe they founde them vntrue in ſome parte, they miſtruſted them in other; and ſo would geue leſſe for thoſe clothes then for any other lyke, hauing no Seales to the ſame, whereby the credite of the ſaid townes was loſt, and the townes vtterly decayed. Dyd yee not ſee that our Coyne was diſcredited immediately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King *Henry* [1]the eyghte, ſpecially among Straungers, whych euer before deſiered to ſerue vs afore all other Nations, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our Coyne? And then they would let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodities; as Wooll, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheeſe, Tynne, and Ledde; & where before time they were wont to brynge vs for the ſame, either good Golde or ſiluer, or els as neceſſary commodities agayne; then they ſent vs eyther ſuch trifles as I ſpake of before: as Glaſſes, gally Pots, tennice Balles, Papers, Gyrdels, Brouches, Buttons, Dyalles, and ſuch light ware that ſtandeth them in no charge or vſe, or els (if it be true that I haue heard, and as I tolde you in your eare before) they ſent vs Braſſe for our Treaſure of Golde and ſiluer, and for our ſayd commodities; I warrant you, yee ſawe no Golde nor Siluer broughte ouer vnto vs, as it was before vſed, & no maruayle; to what purpoſe ſhould they bring ſiluer or Golde thither, whereas the ſame was not eſteemed? Therefore, I haue heard ſay for a truth, and I beleeue it the rather to

[Some English towns stampt their full-measure cloths with a seal; and buyers bought by the seal only.]

[Then some scamps put the seal on short-measure cloths.]

[The cheat was found out, and then the seal discredited even good cloths.]

[1 Fol. 32]

[So our base coin was soon found out, and then foreigners 'ud only take our products, wool, cheese, tin, &c., in exchange for their glass, paper, buttons, &c.]

What doe strangers send vs for our Treasure & chiefe commodities?

[Debased English coin imported from abroad.]

bee true, becauſe it is likely, that after that our Coyne was baſed and altered, Straungers counterfeited our Coyne, & founde *the* meanes to haue greate Maſſes of that tranſported hether, and here vttered it well for our olde Golde and ſiluer, as alſo for our chiefe commodities, which thinge I reporte mee vnto you what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme if it were ſuffered, in a ſmall compaſſe of time?

Knight. There be ſearchers that myght let that matter well ynough, if they be true, both for ſtaying of ſuch falſe Coyne to come in, and of our old Coyne to goe forth.

Doctor. I ſayd ſo to the man that tolde mee the ſame tale that I tolde you euen now. And he anſwered me, there were many wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer ſo true, as by putting of the ſayde Coyne in their ſhippes balaſt, or in ſome veſſelles of Wyne or other Lyquor, tranſpor[1]ted either vnto vs or from vs. then, euery Creake in this Realme hath not ſearchers; And if they had, they bee not ſuch ſaintes as would not bee corrupted for money. Beſides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, ſpecially of Golde, ſhould not be currant here aboue ſuch a pryce? was not that the redieſt way to driue away our golde from vs? euery thing will goe where it is moſt eſteemed, and therefore our treaſure went ouer in heapes.

Hovv our olde coyne may bee transported, & the Prince or her officers not knovving of it.

[[1] Fol. 32, back]

We deuise the rediest vvay to driue avvay our treasure.

Knight. I belieue well, that theſe were meanes to exhauſt *the* olde treaſure from vs, which yee haue reiected; but how it ſhould make euery thing ſo deare among our ſelues, ſince *the* time (as yee ſayd it doth), I cannot yet perceaue the reaſon.

Doctor. Why? doe yee not perceiue, that by reaſon hereof wee payde dearer preſently for euery thing that we haue from beyonde the Sea, then wee were wont to doe before?

That cannot be denied.

By howe much, thinke you?

By the thirde parte, well maner of things.

Muſt not they that buy deare, ſell deare agayne theyr wares?

That is true, if they intend to thriue; for he that ſelleth good cape & buyeth deare, ſhall neuer thriue.

You haue your ſelfe declared the reaſon why things within the and after *that* time ſo deare; for wee muſt buy deare all

things bought from beyond the ſea, & therefore wee muſt ſell agayne as deare our things, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our ſelues. And though that reaſon maketh it plaine, yet the experience of *the* thing maketh it playner; for where yee ſay that euery thing bought beyond the ſea is commonly dearer by the third parte then it was, do yee not ſee *the* ſame proportion rayſed in our wares, if it be not more? Why thinge: vvithin the realme shoul be so deare.

What loſſe haue wee by this, when wee ſell our commodities as deare as wee buy others? Knight.

[1] I graunte to one ſorte of men, I accompt it no loſſe; yea, to ſome other a Gayne more then any loſſe, and yet to ſome other ſort a greater loſſe then it is profit to *that* other; yea, generally to the vtter impouerißhing of the Realme, and weaking of the Queenes maieſties power exceedingly. Doctor. [1 Fol. 33]

I pray you, what be thoſe ſorts that yee meane? And firſt of thoſe that yee thinke ſhould haue loſſe thereby? Knight.

I meane al theſe that liues by buying and ſelling; for, as they buy deare, they ſell thereafter. Doctor

What is the next ſort that yee ſay would win by it? Knight.

Mary, all ſuch as haue takinges or Fearmes in theyr owne manurance at the olde rent; for where they pay after the olde rate, they ſell after the new; that is, they pay for theyr lande good cheape, and ſell all things growing thereof deare. Doctor. Some had gaynes by tl alteration of the coyne.

What ſorte is that which yee ſayde ſhould haue greater loſſe hereby, then theſe men had profit? Knight.

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other that liue either by a ſtented rent or ſtypend, or doe not Manure the ground, or doe occupy no liuing or ſelling. Doctor.

I pray you peruſe theſe ſortes as yee did the other, one by one, and by courſe. Knight.

I will gladly: firſte, the Noblemen and Gentlemen lyue for the moſt part on the yerely reuenues of their lands and fees geuen them of the Prynce. Then ye know he that may ſpend now by ſuch reuenues and fees CCC.li. a yere, may not keepe no better port then his father, or any other before him, that could ſpend but nigh CC.li.; and ſo yee may perceiue it is a great abatement of Mans Countenaunce, to take away the thirde parte of his liuing; and therefore Doctor. Who had los by the alter tion of Coin

gentlemen doe ſtudy ſo much the increaſe of their Lands and enhaunſing of their Rentes, and to take Fearmes and paſtures to their owne handes as yee ſee they doe, and all to ſeeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their predeceſ[1]ſors did, and yet they came ſhorte there in. Some other, ſeeing the charges of houſeholde encreaſe ſo much, as by no prouiſion they can make, it can bee holpen, geue ouer their houſholdes, and get them Chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there ſpend their time, ſome of them with a ſeruaunt or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty perſons daily in his houſe, and to doe good in the Countrey in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other ſorte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre, that hauing but their olde ſtented wages, cannot finde them ſelues there-with as they might afore time, without rauin or ſpoile. And ye know xii.d. a day now will not go ſo far as viii. pence would aforetime. And therefore yee haue men ſo euill willing to ſerue the Prince now a dayes, from *that* they were wont to bee. Alſo, where xl. ſhillinges a yere was honeſt wages for a Yeomen afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke borde wages was ſufficient, nowe double as much will ſkante beare their charge.

[1 Fol. 33, back]

[Some gentlemen give up their country-houses, and get chambers in London.]

[12*d.* now won't go so far as 8*d.* of old.]

[Yeomen's wages, —40*s.* a year, and 20*d.* a week boardwages,— are doubled.]

Knight. That is longe of theyr exceſſe, aſwell in Apparell as in fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen goe more coſtely in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely then their maiſters were wont to doe in times paſt.

[Servingmen.]

Doctor. No doubt that is one great cauſe of the greater charge of houſeholde. For I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a friſe coate in winter, and with a plaine white hoſe made meete for his body, And with a piece of biefe, or ſome other diſhe of ſodde meate all the weeke longe: Now he will looke to haue at the leaſt, for ſommer, a coate of the fineſt cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hoſen of the fineſt Kerſey, and that of ſome ſtraung die: as Flaunders die, or french puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates ſhalbe garded, cut, & ſtitched; and the breches of their hoſe ſo drawen with ſilke, that *the* work[2]manſhip ſhall farre paſſe the pryce of the ſtuffe. And thys thing is not reſtrained as it ſhould be, but rather cheriſhed of the Maiſters, on ſtriuing with the other who may bee moſt proude, and whoſe retinue may goe moſt lauiſh & gay for a time of ſhowe; whereas through ſuch

[Servingmen's dress of old.]

Of excesse in apparell and fare.

[Servingmen's gay dress now.]

[2 Fol. 34]

[Masters strive whose retinue shall be most gay.]

exceſſe they are fayne all the reſt of the yere to keepe the fewer ſeruauntes. And ſo in exceſſe of meates, they fare at ſome tymes in the yeare, that in the whole yeare after they keepe eyther no houſes at all, or if they doe it ſhalbe very ſmal. Like exceſſes aſwell in apparell as in fare were vſed in *Rome*, a litle before the declination of the Empyre, ſo as wyſe men haue thought it was occaſion of the decay thereof. And, therefore, *Cato* and diuerſe wyſe ſenatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for reſtrainte of ſuch exceſſes; and for that, through the inſolencie of ſome that maintained the contrary, *the* ſame were not duly executed, much pride enſued there, and of pride, diuiſion; and through deuiſion, vtter deſolation of the common weale. I pray God this Realme may beware by that example, ſpecially London, the head of the empyre, where ſuch exceſſes (by reaſon the Wealth almoſt of thys Realme is heaped vp there, as the Corne of a Field into a barne) be moſt vſed; for in other parties commonly of thys Realme, the lawe of neceſſity keepes men in a good caſe for exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen went ſimply, and our Seruingmen plainely, without Cuts or gards, bearing their heauy Swordes and Buckelers on their thighes, in ſted of cuts and Gardes and light daunſing Swordes; and when they rode, carying good Speares in theyr hands, in ſtede of white rods, which they cary now, more like ladies or gentlewemen then men; all which delicacyes maketh our men cleane effeminate & without ſtrength.

[Excess in now.]

[London go the greatest excess in dr and food.]

[Light swor for heavy, a white rods f spears, are r carri'd: me so effeminat

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within *the* realm, that men be not forced to ride ſo ſtrong. It was a troblous [1] world as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do ſpeake.

Knight.

[1 Fol. 34, b

What can you tell what time or how ſone ſuch a world may come again? Wiſe men do ſay, that in peace men muſt looke and prouide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be alwaies ſure of peace, then needed no man to keepe men at all. But ſith it is otherwiſe, and that *the* iniquitie of men is ſuch as they cannot bee longe wythoute Warre, And that we recken heere in Englande our chiefe ſtrength to be in our Seruingmen & yeomen, it were wiſedome to exerciſe them in tyme of peace, ſomwhat wyth ſuch apparell, fare, and hardenes, as they muſte needes ſuſtayne in time of warre,

Doctor.

In peace, lo for vvarre.

[The streng England is Servingmen Yeomen.]

Truth it is, alſo, that it wringed the countrey abroad for the time, and had kept it ſo ſtill if the Kynges Maieſtye had not diſperſed the ſame lands abroad among them in the countrey againe; but after *that* his highnes departed with a great deale of thoſe poſſeſſions, part by gift and part by ſale, treaſure hath and will encreaſe againe, abroad, aſmuch as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes; ſo that I take *that* to be no great cauſe of the dearth that we haue, for the ſoyle is not taken away, but the poſſeſſion thereof is onely tranſferred from one kinde of perſons to another.

Doctor.

[No, it only transferrd the possession of the land from one man here to another.]

Then, to retourne to the matter of the Coyne where wee [1][l]eft, I haue heard your conceipte how the alteration thereof within our Realme did ſome Men no harme, as Buyers and ſellers: ſome other it dyd good vnto, as Farmors that had Lande at the olde Rent; and ſome other, as Gentlemen, men of warre, ſeruaunts, and all other lyuing by any rated or ſtented rent or ſtipend, were great loſers by it. But I heard you ſay it was ſo much withall to the loſſe of the Prynce, that it might be to the great perill of the whole Realme in proceſſe of time. I meruayle how it ſhoulde bee ſo, for I hearde wiſe men ſay, that the Queenes higneſſe Father did winne ineſtimable great ſummes by the altera[t]ion of the Coyne.

Knight.

[1 Fol. 35, back]

[How did Henry VIII.'s debasement of our Coin injure the Country?]

So it was for the time, but I liken that gaines to ſuch as men haue when they ſell away their Lands, to haue the greater ſome at one time, and euer after to looſe the contynuall increaſe what ſhould grow therof. For you knowe al the treaſure of this Realme muſt once in few yeares come to the Prynces handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it ſhould goe abrode againe to the Subiects. As all Springes runneth to the *Ocean* Sea, & out of it are they ſpred abroad againe; then, as they came into *the* kings coffers at the firſt in good mettall, they came forth in ſuch as you haue heretofore ſeene. And, albeit it ſeemeth at *the* firſt viewe to empoueriſhe but the ſubiects only, at length it empoueriſheth alſo the Prynce; and then, if the Prince ſhould want in time of warre, ſpecially ſufficient treaſure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklinges of ſhippes, gunnes, and other artillary, neceſſary for *the* warre, and could by no meanes haue of the ſubiectes wherewith to buy *the* ſame, what cauſe ſhould the Realme be in? Surely in very euill; & therefore theſe Coynes and Treaſure be not without cauſe called of wyſe men, *Nerui bellorum*, (*that* is to ſay)

Doctor.

Hovv the alteration of the Coyne should be most losse to the Prince.

[How can the Prince buy armour and artillery from abroad, with base coin?]

[Coin the Sinews of War.]

the Synowes of Warre. And that is the greateſt daunger that I doe conſider ſhoulde growe for want of treaſure to the Prince and the Realme; [1]for though a Prynce may haue what coyne he will currant within his Realme, yet the ſtraungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within themſelues, all together without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuiſe what coyne we woulde; but ſince wee muſt haue neede of other, and they of vs, wee muſt frame our things, not after our owne phantaſies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde; and wee may not ſet the price of things at our pleaſure, but follow the price of the vniuerſall Market of the World. I graunt, alſo, that Braſſe hath bene coyned ere this; yea, & Leather in ſome places. But euer I reade, that was at an extreme neede, which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eſchewed as longe as poſſible may be. And if our treaſure be farre ſpent and exhauſt, (as it hapened in the later yeares of Kinge *Henry* the eight,) I could wiſh that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then *the* deprauing of our coines, which ſerueth the Prince but a litle while, for ſome preſent ſhifte, and hindred him a longe time afterwardes. I am perſwaded that within our Realme treaſure might bee ſoone recouered by theſe two meanes: firſt, if we forbad the bringing in and ſelling of ſo many trifles as I before reherſed to be brought vs from beyond the ſea, & that nothing made beyond the ſea of our owne commodities ſhould be ſould heere. And ſecondly, if we forbad that none of our commodities ſhoulde paſſe vnwrought ouer ſea, which being wrought here, and ſoulde ouer, ſhould bring in infinite treaſure in ſhorte time.

[1 Fol. 36]

[We can't have base or fancy coin, so long as we want to buy foreign goods.]

[Stafford's two remedies:

1. stop the importation of trifles;

2. forbid the export of raw, unwrought, materials.]

Knight.

Mary, and there yee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wiſe man, which thinke it better *that* all our wooll were ſould ouer ſo vnwrought, then any Clothiers ſhoulde be ſet a worke withall within this realme.

[No Clothiers wanted here.]

Doctor.

That were a ſtraunge thing, in myne opinion, that any man ſhoulde thinke ſo; and what ſhould mooue them to be [2]of that opynion, I pray you?

[2 Fol. 36, back]

Knight.

I will tell you. They take it, that all inſurrections & vproares, for the moſt parte, do riſe by occaſion of theſe clothiers; For, when clothiers lack vent ouer ſea, then is a great multitude of theſe clothiers

[Unemployd Clothiers the cause of all insurrections.]

idle; And, when they be idle, then they aſſemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing, and ſo picke one quarrell or other to ſtirre the poore cominalty, that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. And, ſometimes by occaſion of warres, there muſt needes bee ſome ſtay of Clothes, ſo as they cannot haue alwayes lyke ſale or vent; at euery which time, if the ſayd Clothiers ſhould take occaſion of commotion, they thinke it were better that there were none of them in the Realme at all, and conſequently, that *the* woll were vttered vnwrought ouer ſea then to haue it wrought here.

Whether all our Woll vvere expedient to be sould ouer vnvvrought.

So it may ſeeme to them that conſidereth one inconuenience and not another. Surely, whoſoeuer hath many Perſons vnder his Gouernaunce ſhall haue much a doe to gouerne them in quietneſſe; and hee that hath a greate family, ſhall haue ſometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were but a meane Pollicy, eyther for a Prince to deminiſhe hys uumber, for a Maiſter of a Houſe to put away hys Seruaunts, becauſe he would not haue any trouble with the gouernaunce of them; he that would ſo doe might be well reſembled to a man that ſhould ſell his land becauſe he would not bee troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete that we did not onely encreaſe *the* feate of clothing, but alſo intend diuers other mo feates and occupations, wherby our People might bee ſet a worke, rather then take away any occupation from them; ſpecially ſuch as clothinge is, that ſettes ſo many thouſandes a woorke, and enryche both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupyed in *Venice*, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond Sea, they rewarde and chearish euery man that brynge in [1] any newe Arte or miſterye, whereby the people might be ſet a worke, with ſuch thinges as ſhoulde both finde their workemen, and alſo bring ſome treaſure or other commodity into the Countrey. And ſhall we contrarywiſe labour to deſtroy our beſt and moſt profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thinge els might bringe vs treaſure from ſtraunge parties, or wherewith ſhoulde ſo many of our people be ſet a worke, as haue nowe their lyuings by clothing, if that occupation were layde downe?

Doctor.

[We want our cloth-making trade increast, and more trades brought in.]

[1 Fol. 37]

Mysteries are to be increase[d] rather than diminished.

Mary! wee might haue treaſure ynough from outward Parties for our Woolles, thoughe nonne were wroughte within the Realme; And, as for an Occupation, to ſet our Clothiers a worke, they mighte bee ſet to the Plough and huſbandry, and that ſhould make huſbandry to

Knighte.

[Set Clothiers to ploughing.]

be the more occupied, & grafing leſſe, when all theſe people that nowe doe occupy clothing ſhould fall to huſbandry.

Doctor. As to the firſt that yee ſayd, that Wooll is ſufficient to bring in treaſure; if it were (as it is not in deede,) yet that Feate were not for the Weale nor for continuaunce of the Realme. For when euery man would fall to breede ſheepe, and to increaſe Wooll, and ſo at length all other occupations ſhould bee ſet a ſide, and breedinge of ſheepe onely occupied; then yee knowe that a fewe ſheepe maiſters would ſerue for a whole Shyre; & ſo in proceſſe of time the multitude of the ſubiects ſhould be worne away, and none lefte but a fewe Sheepherds, which were no number ſufficient to ſerue the Prince at neede, or to defende this realme from Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that theſe Clothiers ſhoulde fall from that occupation to huſbandry; how coulde ſo many added to them that occupy huſbandry already, get their lyuinge by the ſame, when they that bee huſbandmen nowe haue but a ſmall Lyuinge thereby? And if yee woulde ſay to mee that they ſhoulde haue at all times free vent and full Sale of [1]their corne ouer ſea, then commeth the ſame inconuenience in that ye thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothing. For ſome yeres it ſhould happen either for warres, or by reaſon of plenty in all partes beyond the Sea, that they ſhould haue no vent of their corne, and then be dryuen to be idle, and conſequently for lacke of liuing to aſſemble together, and make like vproares as ye ſpake of before.

[If every one bred sheep, we should have no men to defend the realm. And if Clothiers turnd Husbandmen, they'd starve.]

[1 Fol. 37, back]

They haue in *Fraunce* more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of Artificers, then we haue here by a greate deale; and for all that they haue made many greate ſturres and commotions there before this, yet they will not deſtroy Artificers; for, they know *that* the higheſt Prynces of them all, without ſuch artificers, could not maintaine their eſtate. Doe not all theyr toules, cuſtomes, taxes, tallages, and ſubſidies, chiefely growe by ſuch artificers? What king can maineteine his eſtate with his yearly reuenues, onely growing of his landes? For, as many ſeruaunts in a houſe, well ſet a worke, gaines euery man ſomewhat to their maiſter: So doth euery artificer in a Realme ech gaine ſomewhat; and altogether, a great maſſe to the king & his realm euery yeare it bringeth.

[In France are many trades, and the artisans make rows, but no one wants to destroy the men, who are the riches of the land.]

Knight. And now, becauſe we are entred into communication of artificers,

I will make this diuision of them. Some of them doe but conuey money out of the countrey; Some other, that which they get, they doe spend againe in the countrey. And the third sorte of Artificers is of them that doe bring in Treasure into the countrey. Of the first sort, I recken all mercers, Grocers, Vintners, Haberdashers, Milleners, and such as doe sell wares growing beyond the sea, and do fetch out our treasure for the same, which kinde of artificers, as I recken them tollerable, yet not so necessary in a common Weale but they might be best spared of all other. Yet, if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treasure as they doe [1]cary forth, we should be greate loosers by them. Of the second sorte bee these Shoomakers, Tailours, Carpenters, Masons, Tylers, Bouchers, Brewers, Bakers, and Victailers of all sortes, which, like as they get their liuing in *the* countrey, so they spend it; but they bring in no treasure vnto vs. Therefore, we must chearish well the third sort. And those be Clothiers, Tanners, Cappers, and Worstedmakers, onely that I knowe, (which by their misteries & faculties) do bring in any treasure. As for our wolles, felles, Tinne, Ledde, Butter, and Cheese, these be commodities that the ground beares, requyring the industrye of a fewe persons; and if wee shoulde onely trust to such, and deuyse nothing els to occupy our selues with, a few persons would serue for the rearing of such thinges, and few also it would finde; and so should our realme be but like a grange, better furnished with beastes then with men, whereby it mighte be subiecte to the spoile of other nations; aboute whych is the more to be feared and eschued, because the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to bringe forth such thinges as bee for encrease of cattell, then for such thinges as be for *the* nourishment of men. If *Pomponius Mela* be to be beleeued, which, descrybing thys Ilande, sayeth thus: *Plana, ingens, & ferax: sed eorum, que pecora, quàm homines benignius alant;* That is to say, 'it is playne, large, & plentifull. But of these things that nourisheth Beastes more kindely then men.' So many Forestes, Chases, Parkes, Marshes, and waste groundes being more here then most commonly elswhere, declare the same not to bee all in vayne that hee affyrmes. It hath not so much erable Grounde, Vynes, Olyues, Fruites, and such as bee both most necessary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, so they finde most persons foode, as *Fraunce* and diuerse other Countries haue.

Three sort Artificers.

[1. Middle importers.

One bring out our Tr sure.

[1 Fol. 38, *numberd*

A nother s that they in the sam countrey a gayne.

The thrid bring in T sure, and fore must cherished.

[Our land forth food beasts rat than men.

Pomp. M

[1 Fol 38, back] Therefore, as much grounde [1]as is here apte for thefe things, would be tourned as much as may be to fuch vfes as may finde mofte perfons. And ouer that townes and Cities would be replenifhed wyth all kinde of Artificers, not onely clothyers, which is, as it were, our naturall occupation, but with Cappers, Glouers, Paper-makers, Glafiers, Paynters, Golde-fmithes, blacke-fmithes of al fortes, Couerlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners, and fuch other; fo as we fhould not onely haue inough of fuch thinges to ferue our Realme, and faue an infinyte treafure that goeth now ouer for many of the fame; but alfo might fpare of fuch things ready wrought to be folde ouer, whereby we fhould fetch againe other neceffary commodities or treafure. And this fhoulde both replenifh the Realme of People able to defende it, and alfo faue & winne much treafure to the fame. Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreyes that be else baren of them felues.

[New trades wanted in England.]

Mysteries doe enrich countries that be els barren.

And what riches they bringe to the Countries where they be well vfed, the Countrey of Flaunders and Germanie do well declare, where, through fuch occupations, it hath fo many & eke fo wealthy Cities *that* it were almoft incredible fo litle grounde to fuftaine fo much people. Wherefore, in my minde they are far wide of right confideration, *that* would haue either none or els leffe clothing *with*in this Realme, becaufe it is fome time occafion of bufines & tumultes, which commeth for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way fo co*m*modious or neceffary for mans vfe, but it is fometimes, by ill handling, occafion of fome difpleafure, no, not fier and water that be fo neceffary, as nothing can be more.

[See how Flanders and Germany are enricht by their manufactures.]

Knight. Yea, mafter Doctor, we ftand not in like cafe as *Fraunce* or *Flaunders* that yee fpeake of; if they haue not vente one way, they may haue it another way allwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one Neyghbour, they will bee friendes with another, [2]to whofe Countreyes they may fende theyr commodities to fell.

[2 Fol. 39]

Doctor. So may wee bee, if wee were fo wyfe to keepe one Friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will bee fo mad, being a Priuate man, but hee will be fure to doe fo? Let wyfe men confider what Friendes this Realme hath had in time paft. And if they bee nowe loft or intercepted another way fince, let vs purchafe other for them; or els geue as litle occafion of breache with our Neyghbours as may bee.

Alliance with strangers are to be purchased and kept.

The Wyſe man, as I remember, ſayth in *Eccleſiaſtes: Non eſt bonum homini eſſe ſolum.*

Alſo, in Fraunce they haue diuerſe Bandes of men in Armes, in diuerſe places of the Realme, to repreſſe ſuch Tumults quickely if any ſhould ariſe. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee boulde to haue as many Artificers as they haue.

Knight. Whether great Armies bee as necessary heere as in Fraunce.

GOD ſworbote[1] that euer wee ſhoulde haue any ſuch Tyrauntes come among vs; for, as they ſay, ſuch will in the Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Hennes, Chikens, Pigges, and other prouiſion, and paye nothinge for it, except it bee an ill turne, as to Rauiſhe hys Wyfe or his Daughters for it. and euen in like manner ſayd the Marchaunt man; adding thereto, that hee thought that woulde rather bee an occaſion of Commotions to bee ſtirred, then to bee quenched. For (as hee ſayd) the Stomaks of Engliſhe men woulde neuer beare to ſuffer ſuch Iniuries and Reproches, as hee heard that ſuch vſed to doe to the Subiects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Peſaunts.

Husband. [[1] Gods forbode, God's forbidding. p. 74.] [Tyranny over the poor in France.] Marchaunt. [French 'Peasants.']

Mary, the Prynce might reſtrayne them well ynough, for doing Outrages, vpon great paynes.

Knight.

What if it were ſkant in his power to do? the *Romaines* had ſometimes ſuch men of armes in diuerſe places for defence of the Empyre, it was thought, that at length it ouer[2]threwe the ſame. *Iulius Cæſar* doth that declare; and many times after that, when the Emperors died, the men of warre erected what Emperor they lyſted, ſometime of a Slaue or a Bondman, contrary to the election of the *Senate* of *Rome*, being chiefe Counſaylors of the Empyre, till the whole Empyre was cleane deſtroyed; it is not for commotions of Subiects that Fraunce alſo keepeth ſuch, but the ſtate and neceſſity of the Countrey, which is enuironed about with enemies, and neither ſea nor wall betwene them, againſt whoſe Inrodes and inuaſion they mayntayne thoſe men of warr of neceſſity. They would faine lay them downe, if they durſt, for feare of their neighbours. And ſome wyſe men among them haue ſayd and written, that the ſame men of Armes may bee the deſtruction of their Kingdome at length. And beſide that the largeneſſe of our Dominion, or Situation of the ſame towarde other Countreyes, doth not require ſuch men, nor yet the reuenewes of this realme, is able to make vp *the* like number with Fraunce. And then if we ſhould make a leſſe number, wee ſhould declare our ſelues in-

Doctor. [[2] Fol. 39, back.] [France must keep troops; and yet they may destroy the country.]

feriour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hitherto counted Superiour in ſucceſſes, through the ſtouteneſſe of our Engliſhe hartes. And therefore I would not haue a ſmall ſore cured by a greater griefe, nor for auoydinge of populer ſedition, which happeneth very ſeldome and ſoone quenched, to bring in a continuall yoake, & charge both to the Prince and the people.

A lesse griefe would not be helpen with a greater sore.

Knights. You ſay well, and ſo as I can ſay no more againſt your ſentence, but yet I would wiſhe your ſaying coulde ſatiſſie other men as well as it doth mee.

Doctor. Well, it is nowe tyme to make an ende. I haue troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Knight. I could be content to be troubled longer of that ſorte.

Marchaunt & Clapper. And ſo coulde wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of your ſelfe, gentle maiſter Doctor.

Knights. [illegible] yet, after [illegible] [illegible] Yet the moſt neceſſary poynte which we ſpake of is yet behinde, that is, how theſe thinges may be remedied; And therefore we will not goe from you, till wee haue hearde your aduice herein.

Doctor. A Gods name, I will ſhewe my phantaſie in that part; But let vs firſt goe to ſupper. And ſo wee went together to our Supper, where our Hoſte had prepared honeſtly for vs.

[p. 73, l. 7. *God sworbote.* Compare in the Percy Folio *Robin Hood*, &c., p. 18, l. 59, vol. i.,

"Now Marry, *gods forbott*" said the Sheriffe,
"that euer that shold bee."

The phrase occurs again in p. 30, l. 64; p. 393, l. 1230. "Forehedynge (or *forbode*, or forefendynge). *Prohibicio, inhibicio.*"—Promptorium, ab. 1440 A.D.]

THE THIRD DIA-

[Fol. 40, back]

logue, wherein are deuiſed

ſome remedies for the ſame

griefes.

Knight.

After wee had well refreſhed our ſelues at ſupper, I thought long til I had knowne *the* iudgement of mayſter Doctor about the remedies of the thinges aboue remembred, how he thought they might bee beſt redreſſed, and with leaſt daunger or alteration of things. (And therefore I ſayd vnto him thus:) Since yee haue declared vnto vs (good maiſter Doctor) our diſeaſes, and alſo the occaſions thereof, we pray you leaue vs not deſtitute of conuenient remedies for the ſame. You haue perſwaded vs full, and wee perceaue it well our ſelues, that wee are not now in ſo good ſtate as wee haue bene in times paſt. And you haue ſhewed vs probable occaſions that hath brought vs to that caſe, therefore now wee praye you ſhewe vnto vs what mighte remedye theſe our griefes.

[Pray, Doctor, tell us the remedies for our country's ills.]

Doctor.

When a man doth perceaue his griefe, and the occaſion alſo of the ſame, hee is in a good way of amendment. For, knowing the occaſion of the griefe, a man may ſoone auoide the ſame occaſion; and that being auoyded, the griefe is alſo taken away. For as the Phyloſopher ſayth: *Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus.* But, let vs briefly recount *the* griefes and then the occaſions thereof, and thirdly goe to the inquiſition of the remedies for the ſame. Firſt, this vniuerſall [1]dearth, in compariſon of *that* former age, is *the* chiefeſt griefe *that* all men complaines moſt on. Secondly, Incloſures, & turnyng of erable Grounde to paſture. Thyrdly, decayinge of Townes, Townesſhippes, and Villages; and laſt, deuiſion & diuerſitie of opinions in religion. The occaſions or cauſes of theſe, although I haue before diuerſely

[The ills are,

1. Dearth.

[1 Fol. 41]

2. Inclosures, and turning Arable into Pasture.

3. Decay of Towns.

4. Religious Differences.]

[The Doctor's Prologue.]

declared after the diuerſitie of mens myndes and opinions. Yet heere I wyll take out of the ſame; But only ſuch as I thinke verely to be the very iuſt occaſions in deede. For, as I ſhewed you before, diuers men diuerſly iudge this or that to be the cauſe or occaſion of thys or that gryefe; and becauſe there may be diuers cauſes of one thinge, and yet but one pryncipal cauſe that bryngeth forth the thinge to paſſe: Let vs ſeeke oute *the* cauſe, omitting all the meane cauſes, whych are driuen forward by the leaſt oryginall cauſe. As in a preſſe going in at a ſtraight, the formoſt is driuen by him that is nexte hym, & the next by him that followes him, and the thyrd by ſome violent and ſtronge thinge that dryues hym forwarde, which is the firſt and pryncipall cauſe of the puttynge forwarde of the reſt afore him. If he were kept backe and ſtaied, al they that goe afore would ſtay withal. To make this more plain vnto you: as in a clocke there be many wheeles, yet the firſt wheele being ſtyrred, it dryueth the next, and that the thyrd, &c., till the laſt that moues the Inſtrument that ſtryckes the clock; So in making of an houſe, there is the Mayſter that would haue the houſe made, there is the Carpenter, & there is the ſtuffe to make the houſe with al; *the* ſtuffe neuer ſtirres till the Workeman do ſet it forward; the workeman neuer trauailes but as *the* maiſter prouoketh him *with* good wages: and ſo he is the pryncipall cauſe of thys houſe making. And this cauſe is of *the* learned called 'efficient'; as that *that* bryngeth the pryncipal thing to effect. Perſwade this man to let this buildyng alone, and the houſe ſhall neuer come to paſſe, yet the houſe can not bee made wythout the ſtuffe, and worke[1]men; and therefore they be called of ſome *cauſæ ſine quibus non*, and of ſome other *Materiales & Formales;* but all commeth to one purpoſe. It is the efficient cauſe, *that* is, the pryncipall cauſe, without remouing of which cauſe *the* thing that cannot be remedied. And becauſe that it was graffed in euery mans iudgement, *that* the cauſe of any thing being taken awaye, the effecte is taken away withall; Therefore Men tooke the cauſes of theſe thynges that we talke of wythout Iudgement, not diſcerning the pryncipall cauſe from the meane cauſes, that by taking away of theſe cauſes that bee but ſecondary, as it were, they were neuer the neare to remedy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of *Diar* that loſt her huſband in *the* thippe called *Argos*, wished *that* thoſe Firre beames had neuer

The originall cause in euery thing is to be searched.

[Analogies of, 1. a crowd at a narrow passage;

2. a clock; and

3. the building of a house.]

[The original cause calld 'efficient']

[1 Fol. 41, back]

Diuerse sortes of causes there bee.

[The primary cause to be distinguisht from secondary causes.]

Cic. top. Lib. 5.

bene felled in *Peleius* wood, whereof the ſayd ſhippe was made, when that was not the efficient cauſe of the looſing of her huſbande, but *the* wild fire caſt in the ſaid ſhippe, which did ſet it a fyre. Such cauſes as they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of; ſo they bee alſo idle and of no operation of themſelues, without ſome other to ſet them a worke. And percaſe, I (whyle I degreſſe ſo farre from my matter) ſhalbe thought to goe as far from the purpoſe; yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys *that* I haue ſayde to the ſame. Some thinkes this Dearth beginnes by the tenaunt, in ſelling his wares ſo deare; & ſome other by the Lord, in reyſing his land ſo high. And ſome by theſe incloſures. And ſome other by the reyſing of our coine, or [1]alteration of the ſame. Therefore, ſome by taking ſome one of theſe things away, (as theyr opinion ſerued them to be the pryncipall cauſe of this dearth) thought to remedye this dearth; But as the tryall of the thyng ſhewed, they touched not the cauſe efficient pryncipall; and therefore theyr deuiſe tooke no place: and if they had, the thinge had ben remedied forthwith, for that is proper to the pryncipal cauſe, that as ſoone as it is taken away, the effect is remoued alſo. [2]Yet I confeſſe al theſe thinges rayſeth together with this dearth, that euery of them ſhould ſeeme to be the cauſe of it; neuertheleſſe, that is no good proofe that they ſhould bee the cauſes of it, no more then was the ſteeple made at *Douer*[3] the cauſe of the decay of the Hauen of *Douer*, becauſe the Hauen began to decay the ſame time that the Steeple began to be builded. Nor yet, though ſome of theſe becauſe of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient cauſes of this dearth. But as I haue ſayd before, of men thruſting one another in a thronge, one dryuing another, and but one firſt of al, that was the chiefe cauſe of that force; So in this matter that we talke of, there is ſome one thing that is the oryginall cauſe of theſe cauſes; that be, as it were, ſecondary, and makes them to be the cauſes of other. As I take *the* reyſing of al priſes of victuals at *the* huſbandmans hand, is cauſe of the rayſing of *the* rent of his land. And *that* Gentlemen fall ſo much to take fearmes to theyr hands, leaſt they bee driuen to buy theyr p[r]ouiſion ſo deare, that is a great cauſe againe that Incloſure is the more vſed; For Gentlemen hauinge much land in their hand, and not being able to weilde all, & ſee it manured in huſbandry, which requyreth the induſtry, laboure, and gouernaunce of a greate many of perſons, doe conuerte

[Remote need no consider

Sublata sa tollit effectus

[1 *orig.* a tion]

[The pri or efficie of the D has not toucht.]

[2 Fol. 4:

[Tenterd steeple a Dover h

[3 ? Tent

Hovv on thing is of anothe that of th third.

moſte of that Lande to Paſtures, wherein is requyred both leſſe charge of Perſons, and of the which neuertheleſſe commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thyng hanges vpon another, and ſets forwarde one another, but one firſt of all is *the* chiefe cauſe of all this circuler motion & impulſion. I ſhewed, ere while, that *the* chiefe cauſe was not in the huſbandman, nor yet in *the* Gentleman. Let vs ſee whether it were in the marchaunt man. It appeareth by reaſon that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they were wont to be; the huſbandman is dryuen to ſel his commodities dearer. now *that* the matter is brought to maiſter marchaunt, how can yee auoyde the cauſe from being in you?

Is the chief cause of the Dearth in the Merchant?]

Marchaunt. [1 Fol. 42, back] [1] Sir, eaſily ynough; for as wee ſell now dearer al things then wee were wont to do, So wee buy dearer all thinges of ſtraungers; and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we will diſburden our ſelues of this fault.

Doctor. And they be not here to make aunſwere; if they were, I woulde aſke them why they ſell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?

Marchaunt. Mary! and to that I hearde many of them aunſwere ere this (when they were aſked that queſtion) two manner of wayes. One was, they ſelled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do; ſaying for proofe thereof, that they would take for theyr commodities as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our tod of woll, they would gieue aſmuch Wyne, Spice, or Silke as they were wont to geue for ſo much. Yea, for an ounce of our ſiluer or golde, as much ſtuffe as euer was geuen for *the* ſame. And their other anſwere was, *that* if we reckened they did ſell their wares dearer becauſe they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the ſame then they were wont to do, that was not their fault, they ſaide, but oures, that made our pieces leſſe, or leſſe worth then they were in times paſt. Therefore, they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their Wares: ſaying, they cared not what names wee woulde gieue oure coynes, they would conſider *the* quantity & right value of it, that they were eſteemed at euery where through *the* world.

The straungers aunswere touching this dearth.

[That because our coin was dearest, they wanted more of it for their goods.]

Knight. Then I would haue anſwered them there of this ſorte. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it *the* matter to them what quantity or value our coyne were? If ſo, they might haue

as much of our commodities for *the* ſame as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our ſiluer and golde, It was neuer lawfull, nor yet is expedient they ſhould haue any from vs. Wherefore, I would thinke that was no cauſe why they ſhould ſell theyr wares dearer then they were wonte to doe.

[Then let foreigners take our goods, and let our coin alone.]

[1]Then he might haue aunſwered againe, that it chaunſed not all wayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had againe al thoſe wares *tha*t they looked for. And therefore they, hauinge percaſe more wares neceſſary for vs then we had of ſuch wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of vs ſuch ſtuffe currant in moſt places as might buy that they looked for elſe where at their pleaſure; And that they will ſay was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not tranſporting ouer ſea any Gold or ſiluer, they paſſed not thereof, ſo they mighte haue the ſame once conueyed the*m*; As they had many waies to haue it ſo, which I haue before remembred. Finally, hee might ſay that we had not in deede our coyne in that eſtate our ſelues, that by the name they pretended, but eſteemed both the value & qua*n*tity of the ſtuffe it was made of. For if they had brought vnto vs halfe an ounce of ſiluer, wee would not take it for an ounce; nor if they brought vs braſſe mingled with Siluer, we woulde not take it for pure Siluer; and if wee woulde not take it ſo at their handes, why ſhoulde they take it otherwiſe at ours? Then they ſaw no man heere but woulde rather haue a cup of ſiluer the*n* of braſſe, no, not the maiſter of our mints, though they would otherwiſe perſwade the one to be as good as the other. Wherfore, ſeing vs eſteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beſide, why ſhould they not eſteeme our coine after *the* quantity and value of the ſubſtaunce thereof, both after the rate it was eſteemed amonge vs, & alſo euery other where? And ſo as in moe pieces now, there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in ſubſtaunce that they were wont to demau*n*d for their wares. Now let vs ſee whether now goeth the cauſe of this matter? from the ſtraungers; For me thinkes he hath reſonably excuſed himſelfe & put it from him.

Doctor.
[1 Fol. 43]

[But suppose they don't want so much goods of us as we do of them,

why should they, for the balance, take our debasd coin as pure?]

[2]By your tale it muſt bee in the coyne, and conſequently in the Kinges highnes, by whoſe commaundement *the* ſame was altered.

Knight.
[2 Fol. 43, back]

Doctor.

[Henry VIII. debasd our coin, thinking that it 'ud be a benefit to the realm; but it's been a great loss.]

Yea, percaſe it goes further yet; yea, to ſuch as were the firſt counſailours of that deede, pretending it ſhould bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditye, whych, if hys grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momenta in profit, and continuall loſſe both to his highnes and alſo his whole Realme, Hee with his people might haue ben eaſly reuoked againe from *the* practiſe of that ſimple deuiſe. But as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a Medicine *that* he thinketh good, though it prooue otherwiſe, is not much to be blamed; no more was the kinges maieſty in any wyſe, (in whoſe time this was don, which is not to be ſuppoſed to haue intended thereby any loſſe, but rather commoditye to himſelfe and his ſubiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing ſucceeded beſide the purpoſe.

Knight.

Then yee thinke plainely *that* this alteration of *the* coine was the chiefe and principall cauſe of this vniuerſall dearth?

Doctor.

That the alteration of the coyne vvas the very cause of this dearth, and consequently of other grief, euer sinee that time.

Yea, no doubt, and of many of *the* ſayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes it beinge the oryginall of all; and that beſide the reaſon of the thing being plaine inough of it ſelf, alſo experience & proofe doth make it more playne. For euen with *the* alteration of *the* coyne began this dearth; and as the coyne appayred, ſo roſe the prices of thinges with all; & this to be true, *the* few pieces of olde coyne which afterward remained did teſtefie; for yee ſhould haue for any of *that* ſame coyne as much of any ware, either outward or inward, as euer was wont to be had for the ſame. For as the meaſure is made leſſe, there goeth more number to make vp the tale; and becauſe this rayſed not together at all mens handes, therefore ſome hath greate loſſes, and ſome other greate Gaynes thereby, and that made ſuch a generall grudge for the thinge at the firſte time. And thus to conclude, [1] I thinke this alteration of *the* Coine to haue ben *the* firſt originall cauſe that ſtraungers firſt ſould their wares dearer to vs, and that made all Farmors, and Tenaunts, that reared any commodity, agiane to ſell *the* ſame dearer. The Dearth thereof made the Gentlemen to rayſe their rents, & to take Farmes to their handes for their better prouiſion, and conſequently to incloſe more Groundes.

[1 Fol. 44]

[The debasement of our Coin was the original cause of the Dearth.]

Knight.

If this were the chiefeſt cauſe of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you, maiſter Doctor) heeretofore alleaged, it ſhould ſeeme to be; how commeth it to paſſe (where as you ſay, if the cauſe be re-

moued, the effect is alſo taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long ſithence our engliſh coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princeſſe which now raighneth) hath bene again throughly reſtored to his former purity and perfection?

[But Q. Eliz. has restord o Coin to its original purit

In deede, ſir, I muſt needes confeſſe vnto you (although it may ſeeme at the firſt ſighte to diſcredite my former ſayinges in ſome parte) that, notwithſtanding that our Coyne at this preſent day, yea, and many yeares paſt, hath recouered his aunciente goodneſſe, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceded of the decay therof, to remayne and continue ſtill amongſt vs. Wherefore as your doubte, herein moued very aptly and to *the* purpoſe, is well worthy the conſideration, ſo doe I accompte it of ſuch difficulty, *that* perhaps it would not be thought to ſtande wyth modeſty to vndertake without farther ſtudy preſently to diſſolue the ſame.

Doctor.

[True. And Dearth still continues.]

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modeſty. I vnderſtand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of ſufficient ſtore (without farther deliberation) to ſatiſſie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then theſe.

Knight.

Well[1], I am content (becauſe you wyll haue it ſo) to [2]yeelde to your importunity. I will vtter franckely vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder proteſtation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewiſe with mee your owne Phantaſies and Iudgementes in the ſame. I fynde therefore two ſpeciall cauſes, in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithſtanding *that* reſtitution made in our coin, the aforeſayd dearth of things (in reſpect of the former age) remayneth yet among vs. The firſt is, that whereas immediately after the baſeneſſe of our Coyne in the time of kyng *Henry* the eight, *the* prices of all things generally among al ſorts of people roſe; it muſt needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen, which liued onely vpon *the* reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the ſmarte hereof then any other, of what order or eſtate ſo euer. Thys therefore being taken as moſt true, the Gentlemen, deſirous to maynlaine theyr former credite in bearing out *the* Porte of theyr Predeceſſors, were driuen of neceſſity as often as whenſoeuer any Leaſes deuiſed for terme of yeares by themſelues or their Aunceſtors were throughly expyred, & fel into

Doctor.

[1 *orig.* Wwe
[2 Fol. 44, ba

[Two causes the dearth of thinges.]

[1. The deba ing of our coi by Henry VI This raisd prices.]

theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the moſt part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old; Yea, this rackynge and hoyſſing vp of Rentes hath continued euer ſince *that* tyme, vntill this preſent day. Hereupon the huſbandman was neceſſarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and ſo continueth vnto this day), to ſel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them; and likewiſe other artificers withall, to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares; wherefore as this dearth at the fyrſt time (as I ſaid before) ſprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firſte and chiefeſt efficient cauſe, ſo doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and ſo forwarde, partely to the racked and ſtretched rentes, which haue laſted, yea, and increaſed euer ſince that time hetherunto, & ſo are like to continue I [1]know not how long. Now if we would in theſe our dayes haue the olde pennyworthes generally reſtored among vs agayne, The reſtoring of our good Coine, which allredy is paſt, (& before *the* improued rentes would only of it ſelfe haue been ſufficient to haue brought this matter to paſſe,) will not ſerue in theſe our dayes, except *with*all the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which poſſibly can not be *with*out the common conſent of our landed men throughout *the* whole realme. Another reaſon I conceiue in this matter to be *the* great ſtore & plenty of treaſure, which is walking in theſe parts of *the* world far more in theſe our dayes then euer our forefathers haue ſene in times paſt. Who doth not vnderſtand of *the* infinite ſummes of gold & ſiluer, which are gathered from *the Indies* & other countries, and ſo yearely tranſported into theſe coſtes? As this is otherwiſe moſt certaine, ſo doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all auncient men liuing in theſe daies. It is their conſtant report, *that* in times paſt, & within *the* memory of man, he hath beene accounted a rich & welthy man, & well able to keepe houſe among his neighbors, which, all things diſcharged, was clearely worth xxx. or xl.li.; but in theſe our daies *the* man of *that* eſtimation is ſo farre in the common opinion from a good houſe-keeper, or man of wealth, *that* he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore theſe ii. reaſons ſeemed vnto me to contain in them ſufficient probability for cauſes of the continuaunce of this generall dearth.

[The raising of prices raisd Rents on Lease

This raisd the price of food, and all other articles.]

[1 Fol. 45]

[If we want our old pen'orths or prices, we must get Rents lowerd.]

[2. The great increase of money in our days, from India, &c.]

[Some years ago a man with £30 or £40 a year was thought rich. Now he's considerd next door to a beggar.]

Knight. Yea, but (ſir) if the increaſ of treaſure be partly the occaſion of this continued dearth, then by likelyhoode in other our neighbors na-

tions, vnto whom yearly is conuaighed great ſtore of gold and ſiluer, the pryces of victayles, and other wares in like ſorte, rayſed according to the increaſe of their treaſure.

It is euen ſo; and therefore to vtter freely mine opinion, as I accoumpt it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue reherſed to reuoke or call backe agayne all our En[1]gliſh wares vnto their old prices, ſo doe I not take it to be eyther profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wiſhe that our commodities ſhould bee vttered good cheape to ſtraungers, and theirs, on *the* other ſide, deare vnto vs, which could not be without great impoueriſhing of the Common weale in a very ſhorte time. Doctor. [1 Fol. 45. b

Now that you haue ſo well touched the occaſion of this dearth, and what is to be hoped or wiſhed of *the* ſame, ſo fully that I am well ſatiſſied withall, I pray you ſhewe me the remedies of theſe great Incloſures, whereof al the realme complaineth of ſo much, and hath complayned long vpon. For you haue well perſwaded how it is a meane of greate deſolation of this realme, and that is longe of *the* great profit that men haue by paſture, ouer *that* they haue by tillage, *that* they turne ſo much to paſture. Now I woulde fayne heare how it might bee remedied againe; for I haue hearde this matter of long time, & often reaſoned vpon aſwell in Parliament as in Counſayles, & yet ſmall remedy found therefore that tooke effect. Knighte. [Pray tell m remedies fo Enclosures Common la

If I then, after ſo many wiſe heades as were in thoſe Parliaments and Counſayles, would take vpon me to correct (as they ſay) *Magnificat*, & to finde a remedye for this thinge which they could neuer doe, I might bee reckened very arrogant. Doctor.

Yet tell your phantaſie therein; for though you miſſe of the right meane to reforme that, it ſhall bee no more ſhame for you to doe ſo, then it was for ſo many wiſe men as yee ſpeake of to miſſe. Knight.

You ſay truth, and ſince I ſpeak nothing in this part *that* I would haue taken as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wiſe men to conſider, & to admit or reiect as to their better reaſon ſhall ſeeme good; therefore, as yee haue boldned me already *with* your patience to ſay thus farre, I will not ſpare to declare my minde in [2]this. But ſtill I muſt keepe my grounde that I spake of, that is, to try out the effectuall cauſe of theſe incloſures, and then, by taking away of the cauſe, to redreſſe the thinge. Doctor. [2 Fol. 46]

Knight. I pray you doe ſo; for to mee it ſeemes very reaſonable that ye ſay, and agreeable to that I heard a good Phiſition tell mee once, when I was ſicke of an ague: when I aſked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough allredy, ſaying hee had more neede to gieue me thinges that ſhould make me ſtronger; Then he anſwered me that choler was *the* cauſe of my ſicknes, and that hee gaue me thoſe purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cauſe of my diſeaſe once taken away, the ſicknes ſhould bee ridde from me withall. And, therefore, I pray you vſe your accuſtomed order in this matter, and tel the cauſe of theſe Incloſures.

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

[A doctor gives a purge for ague to clear out its cause, the choler.]

Doctor. I ſhewed you before in our communication in the Garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cauſe thereof, and partly the remedy of the ſame.

Knighte. So did other men among vs tell theyr fanſie as then; but now we pray you tell which of all thoſe cauſes ye take for the neceſſary and efficient cauſe of this matter.

Doctor. To tel you plaine, it is Auarice *that* I take for *the* principall cauſe thereof; but can we deuiſe *that* all couetouſnes can be taken from men? No, no more then we can make men to be *without* wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections; what then? we muſt take away from men the occaſion of their couetouſnes in this part; what is that? the exceeding luker that they ſe grow by theſe incloſures more then by their huſbandry. And that may be done by any of theſe two meanes that I will tell you: Either by *the* miniſhing of the luker that men haue by grafing; Or els by aduaun*ſ*ing of the profite of huſbandry, til it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as grafing is; for euery man (as *Plato* ſaith) is naturally couetous of luker. And *that* wherein they ſee [1] moſt luker, they will moſt gladly exerciſe. I ſhewed you before, that there is more luker by grafing of x. Acres to *the* occupier alone, then is in *the* tillage of xx. And *the* cauſes thereof be many: one is, *that* grafing requires ſmall charge & ſmall labor, which in tillage co*n*ſumes much of *the* me*n*s gai*n*es; though it be true *that* the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally amonge the maiſter & all his mainy, then the grafing of xx. acres. Another great cauſe is, that whatſoeuer thing is rered vpon grafing, hath free vente both ouer this ſide & alſo beyond the ſea, to

Knowledge is the chief cause of Enclosures.] How Inclosures may be remedied.

[1. Lessen the profit of grazing, or 2. greaten that of tillage.]

Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.

[1 Fol. 46, back]

[There's more profit now by grazing than tillage.]

be ſold at the higheſt penny. It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage, for it requires both great charge of ſeruaunts & of labor. And alſo if any good cheape be of corne, it paieth ſcant for the charge of *the* tillage. And then if the market doe ariſe, either within *the* Realme or without, the poore huſband ſhalbe ſo reſtrained from ſelling his corn, *that* he neuer after ſhall haue any ioy to ſet his plough in the ground; which maketh euery man forſake tillage and fall to grafing, which bringeth in all theſe Incloſures. [Causes of tillage paying so badly.]

Now, what remedy for that? Knighte.

Mary! as for *the* firſt poynt, that is, touching the vnequal charges of tillage and grafing, that can not be holpen in all pointes, by reaſon the nature of both reapes the contrary. Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is, paſture, *pratum*, that is as much to ſay as *paratum*, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied, that the huſbandman might haue aſinuch liberty at all times to ſel his corn, either within the Realme or without, as the grafier hath to ſell his; which would make the huſbandmen more willing to occupy theyr plough. And other, ſeeing them thriue, would turn theyr paſture to tyllage. And, though it enhaunſe the market for the time, yet woulde it cauſe much more tillage to be vſed, and conſequently more Corne, which in time of plentye within this Realme might bringe in much treaſure; & in time of ſcarſity would ſuffice for *the* realme, as I ſhew[1]ed you before. And thus with luker they ſhould bee entyſed to occupy the Plough, yea, & with other priuileges. I haue red *that* in this realme ſometime there was ſuch a lawe, as a man that had treſpaſſed the lawe of miſaduenture, mought haue taken the Plough tayle for his ſainctuary. Alſo *that* occupation was had ſo honourable amonge the *Romains*, *that* one was taken from houlding the plough to bee *Conſull* in *Rome*, who after his yeare ended, thought no ſcorne to reſort to *the* ſame feate againe. What occupation is ſo neceſſary or ſo profitable for mans life as this is? Or what miſtery is ſo voyd of all craft as the ſame is? & how litle it is regarded; yea, how much is it deſpiſed, that many in theſe daies repute them but as villains, peſaunts, or ſlaues, by whome *the* proudeſt of them haue their liuings. So *that* I maruaile much there is any (ſeing ſuch a vility & contempt of *the* thing) will occupy the feat of huſbandry at all; For as honour nouriſheth all ſciences, ſo diſhonor muſt needes decay them. And there-

Pratum quasi paratum.

[There should be no restraint on the sale of corn.]

[1 Fol. 47]

[Once the plough-tail was a sanctuary.]

[Husbandry is now despised. Farmers are thought villains.]

[Honour husbandry; give it profit;

fore if ye will haue huſbandry encreaſed, ye muſt honor & cheriſh it; *that* is, to let them haue honeſt gaines thereby; & ſince *that* gains ſhall come into youre countrey, why ſhould you be offended therewith? Another way is to abate the commodity of graſing, as when any taxe is requiſite to be graunted to *the* Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of paſture aſmuch as two of erable. Or els to burden wolls & fells, & ſuch things as are reared by graſing, *that* paſſe to *the* partes beyond *the* ſea vnwrought, with double tallage ouer any corn tranſported; and by enhaunſing the profite of tillage, and abaſing of the profite of graſing, I doubt not but huſbandry would be more occupied and graſing much leſſe; And therby theſe incloſures to be broken vp. Alſo there is one thing of old time ordeined in this realme, which being kept vnaltered would helpe hereunto alſo; that is, where men are enter comminers in *the* common fields, & alſo haue their portions ſo entermedled one with another, that though they would, they could not encloſe any part of *the* ſayd fields ſo long as it is ſo. [1] But of late, diuers men, finding greater profite by graſing then by huſbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors partes round aboute them, or els to exchaunge with them ſo many acres in this place for ſo many in another, whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and ſo incloſe it. For the auoiding whereof, I think verely that it was ſo of olde time ordeined, that euery Tenaunt had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes, ſo as here ſhould bee three acres, and then his neighbour ſhould haue as many; & ouer that, he other iii. or iiii., and ſo after the like rate be *the* moſt partes of the copy holdes that I doe know in this countrey; which I thinke good were ſtill ſo continued, for auoyding of the ſayd encloſures. And thus farre as touching *that* matter.

put a double tax on pasture, and on exported wool.]

[Thus grazing would be discourag'd and Enclosures broken down.]

[1 Fol. 47, back]

[Again, keep up the old system of mixing land ownd by different people. This obliges all to keep their lands open.]

Marchaunt. Now that you haue well declared your opinion in theſe matters of the common dearth and encloſures, I pray you tell vs your minde what ſhould be the occaſion of the decay of the good Townes of this realme, & of all Bridges, Highwayes, and hoſpitalles; and how the ſame may be remedied and releeued againe. For that theſe huſbandmen & dwellers of the countrey finde not ſo great lacke in the fieldes abroade, but Citizens and Burgeſes finde as much within theyr walles.

Of Tovvnes decayed.

Doctor. Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phanſie in all theſe

things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, *the* good occupations heretofore vſed in the ſayd Townes were occaſion of theyr wealth in times paſt, and the laying down of thoſe occupations againe is the cauſe of the decay of the ſame townes. Wherefore, if ſuch occupations may be reuyued againe in the ſame, they would recouer theyr former wealth againe.

[Bring back to the Towns their old Trades]

I beleeue that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of theſe townes; but what, I pray you, was [1] the occaſion of ſuch decay of the occupations?

Marchaunt.

[1 Fol. 48]

I will tell you: while men were contented with ſuch as were made in the market townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well ſet a worke; as I knewe the time when men were contented with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning; whereby the Townes were then well occupied and ſet a worke, and yet the money payd for the ſame ſtuffe remayned in the countrey. Now, the pooreſt younge man in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Daggers, made nigh home. And ſpecially, no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hoſe, or ſhyrte, in his countrey, but they muſt haue this geare come from London; and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyond the ſea; whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and ſpecially of the townes beyond the ſeaes, are well ſet a worke, euen vpon our coſtes. Therefore I would wiſh ſome ſtay were deuiſed for comming of ſo many trifles from beyond the Sea, and ſpecially of ſuch things as might be made here among our ſelues; or els might bee either all ſpared, or els leſſe vſed amonge vs; as theſe drinking and looking glaſſes, paynted clothes, perfumed gloues, daggers, kniues, pines, pointes, agletes, buttons, and a thouſande other thinges of like ſorte. As for ſilkes, wines, and ſpice: if there came leſſe ouer, it made no matter. But ſpecially, I would that nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinne, ſhould be brought from beyond the ſea to be ſolde here, but *that* all thoſe ſhould be wrought within this realme. were it not better for vs *that* our owne people were ſet a worke with ſuch thinges then ſtraungers? I am ſure xx. thouſand perſons might be ſet a worke within this realme, that are ſet a worke beyond ſea with thoſe thinges that now

Doctor.

The occasion of the decay of our Tovvnes.

[Of old, folk were content with country-made girdles, &c.; now no poor man is so, and

no gentleman is with country-made clothes.

All must come from London, and are often made abroad.]

[We should stop this: either make trifles here, or else not use them.]

[Foreign trifles.]

[None of our own products (wool, tin, &c.) should be imported.]

[This would set 20,000 people to work.]

[1 Fol. 48, back]

be made beyond the Sea, and [1]might be made here; (might not the Prince bee glad of any ayde, whereby hee might finde X. M. perſons through the whole yeare, and burden his treaſures with neuer a penny thereof?) I think theſe things might be wrought here, not onely ſufficient to ſet ſo many a worke and ſerue the realme, but alſo to ſerue other parts, as all kinde of Cloth and Kerſey, Worſteds, Couerlets, & Carpets of tapeſtry, Caps, knit Sleeues, Hoſen, Peticotes, and Hattes; then Paper, both white and browne, parchment, velam, and all kinde of Leather ware, as gloues, poyntes, gyrdles, ſkins for Ierkins; and of tinne all maner of veſſell, and alſo all kinde of glaſſes, and earthen pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables and cheſſes, ſince we will needes haue ſuch things; And Daggers, kniues, hammers, ſawes, cheſells, axes, & ſuch things made of yron. might not wee bee aſhamed to take all theſe things at ſtraungers hands, & ſet ſuch a multitude of their people a worke as I ſpake of now, whoſe finding & wages we doe beare now, where all this profit might bee ſaued within the Realme, where it ſhould not goe from vs, but returne to vs againe from whence it came? And in ſettinge vp of theſe occupations, I would haue them moſt preferred and cheriſhed, that bring moſt commodity and treaſure into the countrey; as yee muſt conſider three ſortes of occupations: one that carieth out the treaſure; the ſecond ſort, that as it carrieth none forth of the countrey, ſo it bringeth none in, but that it getteth it ſpendeth in the countrey; the third bringeth in treaſure to the countrey. Of the firſt ſorte are Vintners, Milleners, Haberdaſhers; theſe galley men, Mercers, Fuſtian Sellers, Grocers, & Pothecaries that ſelleth vs any wares made beyond the Sea, for they doe but exhauſt the treaſure of the Realme. Of the ſecond ſort are Victaylers, Inhoulders, Bouchers, Bakers, Brewers, Taylors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Maſons, Blacke Smythes, Turners, and [2]Hoopers; which, like as they conuey no money out of *the* countrey, ſo they bringe none in; but where as they get it they ſpend it. Of the thyrd ſort bee theſe clothiers, cappers, worſtedmakers, Pewterers, Tanners, which bee all that wee haue of any arte which I can nowe recken, that brings into the realme any treaſure. Therefore theſe artes are to bee chearifhed, whereas they be vſed, and where they bee not, they would be ſet vp; and alſo other ſcie*n*ces moe, as making of glaſſes, making of Swords, Daggers,

[We might make all kinds of cloth and clothes here,

also paper,

all leather goods, glass, cards, chessmen; and

all iron tools.]

[All the money for these now goes abroad.]

[Three sorts of traders.]

[1. Importers send our money away.

2. Other tradesmen spend their earnings in the country.]

[2 Fol. 49]

[3.] That arte is to be most chearished in a tovvne that bringes most to the tovvne.

Kniues, and all tooles of Iron and Steele; alſo making of pinnes, poynts, laces, thred, and all maner of paper, and parchment. I haue heard ſay that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewiſe. So Briſtow had a great trade by making of poyntes, and was the chiefe miſterie that was exerciſed in the towne. And albeit theſe be but two of the lighteſt faculties that are, yet were there two great townes chyfly mainteined by theſe two faculties aboue rehearſed. I heard ſay in *Venice* (that moſt floriſhing citie at theſe daies of al *Europe*), if they may here of any cunning craftes man in any faculty, they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citye; for it is a wonder to ſee what a deale of money one good occupyer doth bringe into a towne, though he himſelfe doth not gaine to his owne commoditye but a poore lyuing. As for example, what money one Worſtedmaker bringes into *the* towne where he dwelles, and how many haue lyuings vnder him, & what wealth he brings to *the* towne where he dwels, truly I can not ſufficiently declare, for by a few worſtedmakers *the* ſame townes they haue are growen to great wealth & ryches. So of Clothing and Capping. But where other cities do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell [1]them out; as I haue knowen good workemen, as well Smythes as Weauers, haue come[2] from ſtraunge parties to ſome Cityes within this Realme, entending to ſet vp theyr craftes, and becauſe they were not free there (but ſpecially becauſe they were better workemen then were any in the Towne) they coulde not bee ſuffered to worke there. Such incorporations had thoſe Miſteries in thoſe Townes, that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compounde with them firſt.

And doe you thinke it reaſonable that a ſtraunger ſhould bee as free in a City or Towne as they that were prentiſes there? then no man would bee Prentice to any occupation if it were ſo.

I ſayde not that they ſhall haue commonly lyke liberty or Fraunchiſe; but as one crafte makes but one particuler companie of a Towne or City, ſo I would haue the weale of the whole City rather regarded then the commodity or Fraunchiſe of one craft or miſterry;

[Fresh to be s

[Coven lost its of blue and Bri making points.]

Tovvne enriche some o

[Venice skilld w to it.]

[See wl money Worste brings t town!]

[1 Fol.

[2 *orig.* comem

[We fo drive st skilld w out of c towns.]

Cappe

Docto

for, though commonly none ſhould be admitted there to worke but ſuch as are free, yet when a ſinguler good workeman in any miſtery comes, which by his good knowledge might both enſtructe them of the Towne being of the ſame faculty, and alſo bringe into the Towne much commodity beſide, I woulde in that caſe haue priuate Liberties and Priuileges gieue place to a publique weale; and ſuch a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the Freedome of the ſame Towne, without burdening of him with any charge for his firſt entry or ſetting vp. Yea, where a Towne is decayed, and lackes artificers to furniſh the Towne with ſuch craftes as were either ſometimes exerciſed well there, or might bee by reaſon of the ſituation and commodity of the ſame Towne, I woulde haue ſuch craftes men allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to thoſe Townes decayed to dwell, offering them theyr Freedome, yea, theyr houſe rente [1]free, or ſome ſtocke lent them of the common ſtocke of ſuch townes; and when the towne is wel furniſhed of ſuch Artificers, then to ſtay the comming in of Foreners. But while *the* towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers, it were no policy for the reſtauration of the towne to keepe of[2] any ſtraunge artificers; for the moſt parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftes men of all ſortes, but ſpecially by thoſe *that* make any wares to ſell out of the countrey, and brynges therefore treaſure into the ſame: As clothiers, cappers, worſtedmakers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, founders, ſmythes of all ſortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parchment makers, gyrdlers, pourſers, makers of paper, thredmakers, turners, baſket makers, and many other ſuch. As for the mercers and haberdaſhers, vintners, and grocers, I cannot ſee what they doe to a towne, but fynde a liuinge to v. or vi. houſholdes, and in ſteade thereof empoueriſh ten times as many. But ſince men wil needes haue ſilkes, wine, and ſpice, it is as good that men do ſpend theyr money vpon ſuch in their owne towne as to be dryuen to ſeeke the ſame further. As for *the* reſt of *the* artificers, like as I ſaid before, euen as they take no money out of *the* Countrey, ſo they bryng none in; as Taylours, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Tylers, Maſons, Bouchers, vittailers, & ſuch like. Alſo an other thinge I recken woulde helpe much to relieue oure Townes decaied; if they would take order that al *the* wares made there ſhould haue a ſpeciall marke, and that marke to be ſet to none but to ſuch

[Very clever workmen should not only be made free of any town,

but, in a decaying town, should be given house-rent, and lent money.]

[1 Fol. 50]

[2 off]

[Makers of goods for export should be encourag'd.]

[Middlemen sellers of imports only live on their customers, and do more harm than good.]

[Every town should stamp the goods made in it with its own mark.]

as be truely wrought. And alſo that euery Artificer dwelling out of all townes (ſuch as cannot, for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners, and clothiers,) ſhould bee limitted to bee vnder the direction of one good Towne or other, and they to ſell no ware but ſuch as are firſt approued and ſealed by the Towne that they are lymited vnto. And by theſe two meanes, that is to ſay, fy[r]ſte [1] by ſtaying of wares wrought beyond ſea, which might be wrought within vs, from comming in to be ſold; Secondly, by reſtraining of our wolles, tiune, felles, & other commodityes from paſſing ouer vnwrought; And thirdly, by brynging in (vnder the correction of good towns) artificers dwelling in the countreies, making wares to be ſol[d]e outward, & theſe wares to be viewed and ſealed by the towne ſeale before they ſhoulde bee ſolde;—I woulde thynke oure Townes myght be ſoone reſtored to theyr auncyent wealth, or farre bettered if they would follow this.

[Country artisans to be affiliated to a town.]

[1 Fol. 50, ba

[Stafford's 3 Remedies for the Decay of Towns.]

Now wee pray you go to the laſt matter ye ſpake of: how theſe diuerſities of opinions may be taken away, which troubles the people very ſore, and makes great ſedition and deuiſion among them, and in maner makes debate beetwene neighbour & neighbour, the Father and his Son, the Man and his Wyfe, which is yet more to bee feared then all other the foreſayd loſſes of wordly [2] goods. For if wee were neuer ſo poore, and did neuertheleſſe agree amonge our ſelues, wee ſhoulde lycke our ſelues hoale againe in ſhort ſpace.

Knight.

[What's the remedy for ou Religious Differences?]

[2 worldly]

Yee ſay truth: with concord, weake things do encreaſe & waxe big; And contrarywiſe, with diſcorde ſtrong thinges waxe weake. And it muſt needes be true that truth it ſelfe ſayth: 'Euery kingdome deuided in it ſelfe ſhal bee deſolate.' Wherefore I cannot forbeare to ſhewe you my poore opinion, how ſo great a miſchiefe as this is may bee auoyded out of this our common Weale; & ſtil I will vſe one trade, as in ſeeking out the oryginall cauſe, and by takinge awaye of that to ſhew the remedye. I take the chiefe cauſe hereof, aſwel the ſinnes of them that be the miniſters of Chriſts holy word and miſteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And firſt, of ours, that haue ſwarued altogether from their due courſe, order, and profeſſion, to all kinde of liberality, not onely to [3] the baſenes of lay men, but far inferiour to them in pride, couetouſnes, and ſuch. Wherefore yee lay men, ſeeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs vnworthye

Doctor

Concordia que res crescunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur.

[The Sins of Ministers (and Laymen) are cause of our Religious Troubles.]

[3 Fol. 51]

[While Ministers livd up to what they preacht, all men obeyd them.]

to bee your Leaders and Paſtors, or to whoſe doctryne yee ſhoulde gieue credence, whome yee ſee in lyuing far diſcrepant from the ſame. And therefore ye take vpon you *the* iudgment of ſpirituall thinges, to whom it doth not appertain. As one inconuenience draweth euer another after him, for ſo long as the miniſters of the church were of thoſe maners & conuerſation agreeable with theyr doctryne, So long all men, yea, the greateſt prynces of the worlde, and the wyſeſt men, wer content to beleue our doctrine, & to obey vs in things concerning *that* ſoule; and ſince we fel from the perfection of life, we grew out of credit, & the holy doctrine of Chryſt ſuffered ſlaunder by our ſinfull liuing. So we haue gieuen the fyrſte occaſion of this euil, & yee haue taken it as an inſtrument to worke this ſcyſme withal. And though both do euil therin; yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this miſchief, which I take to bee in the miniſters & paſtors ſpirituall. And to be playne with you, and no more to diſſemble oure owne faultes then I haue done yours, except wee reforme our ſelues fyrſt, I can haue no great truſt to ſee this generall ſcyſme and deuiſion in religion vtterly taken away; it may, percaſe, wyth authority be for a time appeaſed, but neuer ſo as it ſprynge not againe, except wee reforme oure ſelues fyrſt.

The occasion of the scysme in matters of religion. [is the sin of Ministers; and unless they reform, schism 'll not cease.]

Knight. Mary! and I thinke yee haue ben wel diſciplined & corrected already, ſo as yee had good cauſe to bee reformed, as by taking much of your poſſeſſions from you, and in burdeninge of your benefices with ſubſidies, as well annuall as proportional, and other wayes. What other reformation would yee haue more?

Doctor. Yea, no doubte wee haue had beatinge inough, if that would haue ſerued, but ſome maiſters *with* litle beating will [1]teach theyr ſchollers better then other with more ſtrypes can doe; and agayne, ſome ſchollers will be reformed with leſſe beating then other. So you and we doe now: you in beating inough, but litle teaching; and wee agayne, little regarding *the* ſtrypes, doe learne as litle. For, notwithſtanding theſe puniſhments that we haue had, the reproches and reuilinge, and opening of our faultes, ſee how many of vs haue reformed our ſelues, yea, ſo much as in our outwarde duties, whereunto we are bound both by gods lawe and our cannons lawes and decrees; how many moe of vs haue reſorted to our benefices to be reſident thereon, which not onely by the ſayd lawes, but alſo vpon greate penalties wee

[1 Fol. 51, back]

[We clergy have been beaten; but with little good result.

How many more of us live in our parishes now?]

are bounde vnto by the lawes of this Realme! How many leſſe now then before haue ſtudied to heape Benefice vpon Benefice, when wee bee ſcante able to diſcharge one of them! what better triall or examination is there nowe in admittyng of miniſters of the church? What more exacte ſearche is made by our Biſhops for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of ſoules? What better execution of our cannons and decrees doe our Biſhoppes, Deanes, and Archdeacons in their viſitations now, then they did before? Yea, what better hoſpitality, reſidence, or miniſtration eyther of the word or of their other duties, doe our prelates and Byſhops now, then they did before? doe they not lurke in theyr manſions & manour places far from theyr cathedral churches as they were wont, and ſcant once a yeare will ſee their principall church, where they ought to be continually reſident? be they not in a maner as vnmeete for preaching the word of God as euer they were, for all theſe plagues that God ſendes to them? But they are ſo blynded, that they cannot ſee wherefore they be thus puniſhed, & conſtrue it to be for other cauſes, as by the couetouſnes of lay men in deſiringe theyr Poſſeſſions by a hatred conceiued agaynſte them, for not obteyning theyr purpoſe [2]at men of the Chur[1]ches hand[2]. Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of the church, or ſuch other cauſes as they immagine with themſelues; And thinke that the indignation againſt them ſhortly will ſlake of it ſelfe. But I pray God it doe not rather encreaſe, as I feare me it will, except we amend vs the rather. How can men be content to pay *the* tenth of theyr goods which they gette with theyr ſore labour and ſweate of theyr browes, when they can not haue for it againe neither ghoſtly comforte nor bodely? what layman will be any thing ſcrupulous to keepe thoſe tythes in his owne handes, when hee ſees vs doe nothing more then hee for it? what credite w[i]ll any man gieue to our doctrine, whom they ſee ſo light in lyuing? what reuerence will they gieue our perſonnes, in whoſe manners they ſee no grauity? But to paſſe from theſe matters to others. There be moſt godly ordynaunces made by our lawes by auctority of Counſayles generally, that all Archdeacons ſhould viſite in perſon yearely theyr precinctes. The Biſhop euery three yeares to ſee *the* whole Dioceſſe, what is to be reformed either priuately or generally, that priuate faultes might be reformed forth with, and the generall at the next Synode; and therefore they haue

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[Non-residence, Pluralities, want of care in ordaining men, and in holding Visitations.

Bishops lurk in mansions, coming only once a year to their Cathedrals.]

[1 Fol. 52]

[2—2? at church-men's hands.]

[Who likes paying us clergy tithes, when we do nothing for 'em?]

[Archdeacons and Bishops bilk the laws.]

[Procurations.]

[The sins of the English Clergy.] [Bishops take the money for Visitations, but never visit.]

theyr procurations. Visite they doe not in perſon, as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is ſurely gathered, but the cauſe wherefore it was geuen, nothinge kept; the ſtipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndon. Then is there another good ordenaunce and godly, abſolued after the like ſorte; where euery biſhop ſhould yerely keepe a ſinode in his dioceſſe of all euangelicall perſons, and euery archbiſhop a ſinod for his whole prouince euery thyrd yere, that if any thing occurred in the dioceſſe worthy reformation, it might be referred to the prouinciall congregation, if it were either doubtfull to the biſhop, or could not be reformed without greater auctority then the Biſhoppes alone. [1]Where bee theſe ſinodes now kept? yet they receiue euery yere theire ſinodals of *the* poore prieſts; of ſuch good ordenance & godly there is nothing kept, but *that* which is their owne priuat commodity, which be *the* procurations & ſinodals; *the* other part wherefore *that* charge was laid is omitted; the burden remaineth, & the duty is taken away; yet better it were *that* both *the* one & *the* other were taken away, then to haue *the* good parte taken & the worſe to remaine. If they will ſay *that* there needeth nowe a daies no ſuch viſitation nor ſynods, then there needed neuer none of them, for moe thinges to bee reformed among vs were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer more neceſſary. But our prelats would ſay they dare make no lawes in ſuch ſinods for feare of penurye. what neede any mo lawes made then they haue already? what ſhould let them to put theſe in execution that be already made, ſpecially ſince they haue the aide of the temperal lawes thereto? are there not ſtatutes made in parliament for reſidence, and for reſtrayning of pluralitie of benefices, which had neuer neede to haue ben made, if wee would haue put our lawes in execution? Are not we worthy to haue other men to correcte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our ſelues? Is it maruaile that wee bee out of credence, when our life and conuerſation is contrary to oure owne lawes and profeſſion, and that the religion of them ſuffereth ſlaunder, offence, & reproche, which through our defaults ſhalbe once required of our hands? Therefore, if we wil haue this ſciſme taken away from chriſtes church, let vs firſt reform our ſelues & put our lawes in execution, as in reſorting to our benefices to keepe reſidence, and in contentyng our ſelues wyth one

They take money too for holding Synods, but never hold 'em.]

[1 Fol. 52, back. *Catchword* Whereby]

[And yet reformation was never more needed than now.]

[Good laws we have; but we won't keep 'em.

Then laymen should make us.]

[If we Clergy want schism to cease, let us reform ourselves.]

Benefice a piece, and wyth the lyuinge that is appointed to vs for our miniſtration, without deuiſing of other extraordinary & vnlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable with reaſon, then a man to ſpende his tyme where he hath his lyuing, and to do his office for that he hath *the* benefite of? [1]And ſeeing euery benefice is a mans liuing, —& if it be not, it might be amended til it be a competent liuing, and euery one requireth one mans whole charge,—What reaſon is it that one man ſhould haue two mens liuinges, & two men*s* charge, where he is able to diſcharge but one? Then to haue moe, & diſcharge the cure of neuer a one, is to farre agaynſt reaſon. But ſome, percaſe, will ſay, there be ſome of vs worthy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to litle for ſuch a one. Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes, forſooth, there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to xx. markes a yeare of ſundry values to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let euery man be contented therewith til a better fal. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leaue the firſt and take *the* better, for the meaneſt Benefice is a ſufficient liuinge for ſome man, which ſhould be deſtitute of a liuing, if that benefice and other like ſhould be heaped vp together in great mens hands. Yea, I doe knowe *that* men which haue ſuch meane benefices be more commonly reſident, and keepe better hoſpitality on the ſame, then they that haue greater benefices. It is a common prouerbe, '*Its meary in Hall Whan Beardes wags all.*' Nowe looke throughe a whole Dioceſſe, you ſhall not finde xx. perſons reſident that may diſpende xl. l. a piece; nor for al the benefices in a Dioceſſe, the fourth perſon reſident ouer the ſame. What temperal office is ſo far abuſed as theſe be that be ſpirituall and of greater charge? I pray God ſend our Prelats Eyes to ſee theſe Enormities; for it ſhoulde ſeeme that they are ſo blinded that they cannot ſee them. And then I doubt not but all delayes ſet a part they will reforme them; and if they do not, I pray God ſend our Maieſtrats temperall the minde to reforme theſe thinges with their ſeculer power. And to ſtudy for the reformation [2]of them, rather then for theyr poſſeſſions, Chriſtian Princes beare not their ſwords in vayne; nor yet is it ſo ſtraunge a thing to ſee Chriſtian princes reforme the Prelates that ſwarue from their duties. Thus far be it ſpoken

[The sins of English Cle

[1 Fol. 53]

Propter officium datur beneficium.

[We have b fices from 1 to 20 marks year, for m according t their capaci

[The poor c live at hom more than t rich.]

[We haven' resident Pa with £40 a

Not 1 Pars 4 is residen

If the Bish won't refor this, I hope God the lai will.]

[2 Fol. 53, 1

touching the reformation of them *that* be mynifters of *the* Church. Now to ſpeake of *that* is to be reformed of our parte that bee of the laytye, yee muſt vnderſtand, that al *that* geue them ſelues to the knowledge of any faculty, are commonly ſubiect to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke *Tully* doth report): *the* one is to take theſe things *that* we knowe not for things knowne, or as though we knewe them; for avoyding of which fault men ought to take both good ſpace and great diligence in conſideration of things, ere they come to geue iudgement of the ſame; the other vice, to beſtowe too great a ſtudy and labour about obſcure and hard thinges nothing neceſſary. Let vs now conſider, and thoſe faults be not among you at theſe dayes, ye be all now ſtudious to knowe the vnderſtanding of holy ſcripture. And well, for there can be no better deſire, more honeſt, nor more neceſſary for any chriſtian man; but yet doe yee not ſee many younge men before they haue either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the conſideration or ſtudy of ſcripture, take vpon them to iudge of high matters being in controuerſie, geeuing to quicke aſſent eyther to their owne inuention, or to other mens, before they haue conſidered what might be ſayd to the contrary. And this fault is not onely ſeene in men ſtudious of the knowledge of ſcripture, but alſo in younge ſtudents of all other ſciences: ſhall ye not finde a ſtudent in the lawe of the realme, after he hath bene at the ſtudy of *the* lawe not paſt iii. yeares, more ready to aſſoyle you a doubtfull cauſe of the lawe, then either he himſelfe or another, after *that* he hath ſtudied the law xii. or xiiii. yeares. Yea, no doubt, ſo it is in a young Grammarian, Logitian, Rethoritian, & ſo of al other ſciences. Therefore *Pythagoras* forbade his Schollers to [1]ſpeake the firſte v. yeares *that* they came to him, which leſſon I would to God yee would be content to obſerue, before yee gaue any iudgement in matters of holy ſcripture. And then I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, ye would by collation of one place with another of ſcripture, finde a greater difficulty therein then yee doe now, & bee more ſcrupulouſe to geue an aunſwere in high thinges then yee be now; and this harme commeth of raſhe iudgement in *that* part, that when a man hath once vttred his opinion in any thinge, he will thinke it a great ſhame for him to bee brought from *that* he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore, what ſo euer he readeth after, he conſtrueth for the mayntenaunce of his

[The presumption of ill-informed laymen in judging religious matters.]

Cicero de offi. Lib. i.

[The faultes in the part of the laitye. [*orig.* daitye]

[All young students are cheeky, whether in Divinity, Law, Grammar, or any other science.]

[1 Pyth. 64]

[Why one might be gyuen an opinion in thinke difficulties till he'e read for 7 yeares]

[Vnlike of rash judgement.]

opinion; yea, and wil force that ſide, not onely with his wordes and perſwaſions, but alſo with that powre and authority *that* he hath, and will-labour to bring other to the ſame opinion, as many as he can, as tuough his Opinion ſhoulde bee the more true, the moe fauorers that he may get of *the* ſame. By ſuch meanes, if we ſeeke but for the truth, that is not to bee iudged to be alwayes on the beſt ſide *that* getteth *the* ouer hand by power, authority, or Suffrages extorted. it is not like in the diſceptacion & inquiſition of the truth, as it is in a fight or a wreſtling; for he that hath the ouer hand in theſe thinges, hath the victory; and in the other, hee that is ſometimes put to ſilence, or otherwiſe vanquiſhed in the ſighte of the worlde, hath the victory and conqueſt of truth on his ſide. Since wee contend but for the knowledge of the truth, what ſhoulde wee deuide our ſelues into factions and parties? but let the matter be quietly diſcuſſed, tryed, and examined, by men to whom the iudgement of ſuch things appertayneth. And prouide, in the meane time, that neyther party do vſe any vyolence agaynſt the other to bringe them by force to this or that ſide, vntill the whole or moſt part of the*m*, to whom *the* diſcuſcion of ſuch things appertayneth vnto, [1]doe freely conſent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to deſcide ſuch controuerſies; and ſince this contencion muſt once haue an ende, it were better take an end be times, then too late, when percaſe more harme ſhal haue enſued of this daungerous Sciſme, as hath already done in other parties, euen before our Eyes, And in like thinges hath before this time bene ſeene, of ſuch ſort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred. what loſſe of Chriſtian men, what diminiſhing of the Chriſtian fayth, what continuall warres hath the Faction of the *Arrians* bene the occaſion of? did it not ſeperate and ſeuer at length all *Aſia* and *Affricke* from the Chriſtian fayth? Is not the Religion, or rather the wicked ſuperſticion, of the *Turke* graffed ouer this *Arrian* Sect? did it not take his foundation thereof? As there is no dyuiſion more daungerous then that which groweth of matters in Religion, ſo it were moſt expedient and neceſſary to bee quikely remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counſel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the Apoſtles, who firſt tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appeaſe all controuerſies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghoſt, as his promiſe is,

[Truth always most v

[Why s seekers Truth s faction:

As Co tyne t great the ti Arius.

[1 Fol.

[Let all tions b by exp the ma decide.

[The o to stop is to h Genera Counci

[No doubt the Holy Ghost 'll come to it. Yet the Bp. of Rome (or Pope) is a difficulty.]

wilbe prefente in euery fuch affembly that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now wee will fay, thoughe wee would for our partes fet a fide parciality, and be indifferent and vfe no cohercion to get numbers & voyces that fhoulde fauour our partes, who can promife that the Byfhoppe of *Rome* and other Prelates would doe *the* fame? Surely, if yee did fay fo, yee fayd a great matter, for they be men, & much more fubiect to affections then yee be. But I fhalbe bolde after my manner to tell my minde herein, afwell as in other thinges. I take all thefe matters that be now a dayes in controuerfie to be of one of thefe fortes: that is, either touching the profits and emolumentes of the Prelates & Mynifters [1]of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching thofe articles that concerne religion, I would wifhe *that* they had onely the difcufcion thereof, which ought and haue vfed alwayes to haue the iudgement of the fame; & as touching the articles that concerne the profits of Ecclefiafticall perfons, I would haue thefe left to the difcufcion of the feculer powers, becaufe it concerneth feculer thinges onely; where no man neede miftruft, but that *the* Maieftrates will prouide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that ferueth fo honorable a roume as *the* miniftration of Gods holy word and his Sacraments. Furthermore I woulde wifhe in thinges touching *the* byfhop of *Rome*, & his iurifdi[c]tion, *that* he fhould be fet a part, & fome other indifferent perfons chofen, by chriftian Princes, to direct or be Prefidentes in the Counfayle, while his matter is in handlinge (if it pleafe Chriftian Princes to houlde a counfayle with that Whore of *Babylon*,) for no man is meete to be a Iudge in his owne caufe. Here I haue but briefly touched *the* fummes of things after my fimple phantafie, referringe the alowing or reiecting of all or fome of them to your better iudgement.

How this scisme might be remedied.

[1 Fol. 55]

[Our rows are on (1.) the pay of the clergy, or (2.) points of Religion.

Let the Clergy settle (2), and the secular powers (1).]

[How to deal with the Bp. of Rome.]

The Bishop of Rome is no indifferent man. [but the Whore of Babylon.]

Knight. I am forry that it is fo late that wee muft needes depart nowe.

Marchaunt, Husband, & Capper. And fo bee wee, in good fayth; but wee truft ere you departe the towne, to haue fome communication wyth you agayne.

Doctor. I will bee glad, if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I knowe not whether I fhall remayne here beyonde too morow morning, which if I do (in any thing *that* my fimple iudgement will reach vnto you) you fhall heare my farther opinion; in the meane time, I pray you fo to thinke of mee as of one that if I haue fpoken any thing which may

bee preiudiciall to the commonweale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yeelde to the iudgement of any other man that can ſhew how all theſe griefes, or the more part of them, [1] may bee remedied by any other better meanes; for I know, of many a thouſande in this lande I may worſte ſpeake in ſuch a wayghty matter. And ſo here for this preſente I take my leaue of you all.

[The Doctor's willing to yield to any wiser Doctor of the Social Evils of his day.]

[1 Fol. 55, back]

And thus wee departed for that time; but on the morrowe, when I knewe maiſter Doctor was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication ſhould bee loſt, but remembred at *the* leaſt in mine owne priuate booke, to the intent, as opportunity ſhoulde ſerue, I might brynge forth ſome of his Reaſons in places where they might eyther take place or be aunſwered otherwiſe then I could. And therefore I haue noted the ſayd communication briefly of this ſorte, as you ſee.

Knight.

[I've set down shortly the Doctor's reasons.]

* * *

FINIS.

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APPENDIX.

[PROCLAMACION FOR THE ABASSING OF COYNES.]

[March, 1561.]

[*Ashm. MS.* 1148, *leaf* 395.]

By the Quene.

ALTHOUGH the Quenes Maiestie had determyned (aftre the tornyng of the base and copper moneyes to fyne Sterling moneyes, Whiche to hir greate honor, and the weale of the Realme was ended aboutes Michellmas last) to have forboren for the ease of hir people from the amendment of the vallue of the same fyne moneys, for sōme convenyent tyme, and with sōme kynde of moderation therein: Yet is hir Maiestie nowe, vppon many and necessary cawses newely happened, moved and induced, thoughh to hir owne private greate chardge, to alter this hir former purpose, bothe for the tyme and the moderation in the doing thereof. Whereof emonges other cawses, the rashnes of a greate sorte of people, shewing their wytt owte of season, and the covetoosnes of a greater sorte, are the principall: the one by spredding thoroughhe the realme of rvmors that frome one markett-daye to an-other the money shold be decryed, meanyng thereby to prevent vnseasonably and vntymely, hir Maiesties Determination, (for staye whereofe hir Maiestie gave ordre by proclamation, but as it nowe appereth, not thereby remedyed, by reason the same rvmors were before-hand vniuersally spredd and dryven into mens heades by sinistre meanes); the other sorte, taking hold of thes rumors, and onely vppon covetoosnes furdering the same, have allredy vniuersally enhaunced the prices of all thinges to be solde for money, according to the rate as thoughe the moneys were allredy decryed. And nowe for that it is evydent that the vniuersall expectation for the decrye of the money, is, by meanes of these former rvmors, so constantly and depely setled in mens heades; and thereaftre the prices of all thinges so highhly enhaunced, that vntill the moneys be in dede

brought to the vallue at the whiche they were entended and ought to be, not onely the meaner sort of people, as laborers in husbandrye, handycraftes-men, and suche like, but also all serving-men, Soldiors and others, lyving onely by pention or wages, and therewith bying their victell and sustenaunce; shalbe pytefully oppressed with vnreasonable prices and derth. Therefore hir Maiestie, having compassyon of their estate, for the releffe of theym, and for the remedye of suche a willfull Derth, and consequently with one dede (that hereafter of necessitie ought haue followed) to make suche a fynall certeyn end and honorable establishment of the state of the moneyes of this realme, as hathe been long wished, and is never hereafter to be chaunged ne altered. By the advise of hir Counsell and of many other noble, wyse, and expert men, Dothe declare, and by this proclamation dothe ordeyne; that all maner of moneys now curraunt within this realme shall, aftre this proclamation, be vallued and curraunt as hereafter followeth. And so shall remayne withowte chaunge, being in very dede the Standerd that hathe contynewed and remayned in this realme, sence the sixt yere of king Edward the fourthe, her Maiesties greate grandfather, and so all the tymes of king Edward the fifte, king Richard the thirde, and king Henry the viith, and so forthe vntill the xvjth yere of the reigne of king Henry the eight, hir Maiesties father, whiche is so ryche and good as none canne be better for the state of this realme thereby to florish and growe in wealthe and good ordre.

First, the Moneyes of gold shalbe curraunt as followeth:

ffyne gold	The	Souerayne Royall Angell half Angell	That was curraunt for	xxx s. xv s. x s. v s.	Shalbe curraunt for	xx s. x s. vj s. viij d. iij s. iiij d.
Crowne gold	The	Souerayne half souerayne Crowne half crowne	That was curraunt for	xx s. x s. v s. ij s. vjd.	Shalbe curraunt for	xiij s. iiij d. vj s. viij d. v s. xx d.
Straunge gold	The	ffrenche crowne Burgundion crowne	That was curraunt for	vj s. vj s.	Shalbe curraunt for	iiij s. iiij s.

Secondly, the Moneyes of Siluer shalbe curraunt as followeth:

ffyne sterling Siluer	The	Shilling half shilling Quarter shilling Three half pence Three farthinges	That was curraunt for	xij d. vj d. iij d. jd. ob. ob. q.	Shalbe curraunt for	viij d. iiij d. ij d. j d. ob.

And forasmuche as there be three other peces of siluer moneyes curraunt in this realme, that is to saye, a grote, twoo pence, and a

penny, the which cannot be reduced to any good and even rekoning one by one, Hir maiestie meanyng that no person shold take more harme by theym then by hir other moneyes, Dothe ordeyne that three of the same grotes shalbe curraunt for eight pence, and three of the saide peces of twoo pence shalbe curraunt for a grote, and three of the saide pence shalbe curraunt for twoo pence, And for that the quantytie thereof in the realme is not greate, and yet cumbersom to the people to paye one by one, Hir maiestie is pleased, betwixt the end of the next moneth and novembre following, thoughe it shalbe to hir pryvate chardge, to delyver at hir mynt, for every of the saide three peces, as muche other fyne moneys as the same be nowe vallued by this proclamation. And all this, hir maiestie wold to be accepted of all good naturall subiectes, as one of the principall actes tending to the recovery of the auncyent fame and wealthe of this realme; and that no credytt be gyven to malitioose, busye, and envyoose persons, that either of ignoraunce or malice shall deprave this noble acte: Wherein hir Maiestie evydently susteyneth at this present so greate a burden in hir present treasure, as (were it not for respect of the commen weale) ought not to be by hir Maiestie borne. But hir principall care is, with godes grace and speciall assistaunce, to preferre allwayes the weale, suertie, and honor of this Realme, before hir owne pryvate weale or estate/.

Gyven at the Palace of Westminster, the daye of Marche, the fourthe yere of hir Maiesties reigne. 1561.

God save the Quene.

[Endorsed:—] Proclamacion for the
Abassing of Coynes

NOTES.[1]

p. x. A learned acquaintance at New College writes :

"As far as my own observation goes, I should certainly agree in considering that 'the tone of W. S.'s book is not that of a man of 27.' One phrase which is put into the Doctor's mouth, 'these 40 years' (I forget the exact context [p. 51 below]) would hardly have come naturally from a writer who had not seen 30. Nor can I see sufficient evidence to identify the William Stafford of New College with the 'Conspirator' of 1587. . . . .

"The *Briefe Conceipt* is not in our College Library ; nor is it apparently among the books given to Winchester College Library by W. Stafford."

The passage my correspondent alludes to is on p. 51 below, where the Doctor says : "I haue heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or Millen Cappes . . . and such thinges, not a dosen in all London." If we may identify our W. S. with his Doctor, this settles that he was not Lady Dorothy Stafford's son, specially when it is confirmd by other like sayings by the Doctor, on p. 27 (haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares) ; p. 28 (where he speaks of the old prices of caps, shoes, and horse-shoeing) ; p. 40 (if that kinde of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx. yeares past . . .) ; p. 64 (where he contrasts the old wages, &c. with the new, and says, "I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer," &c.) ; p. 68 (where he refers, as having livd in them, to 'the later yeares of King Henry the eight,' who died Jan. 28, 1547) ; p. 81 ('our Coyne at this present day, yea, *and many yeares past*, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse') ; p. 86, 87, 89, &c., all implying that the speaker was old. But, as I have noted in my Forewords, W. S. *may* be speaking only dramatically through the Doctor (cp. 'ours,' 'yee laye men,' p. 91 ; p. 92, &c.) If so, we must notice that W. S. identifies himself, the writer of the treatise, with the Knight, on p. 32, p. 75, and in the last paragraph of the book, p. 99, "therefore I haue noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte, as you see." If then the Knight represents William Stafford, he was probably older than the Doctor, for not only does he refer, near the top of p. 33, to his buying pigs and geese 30 years ago, but near the foot of the page he pro-

[1] The Notes and Indexes are mainly by Miss Isabel Marshall of Bedford.—F.

bably implies that he had Abbey or priory lands given him by Henry VIII. in or soon after 1532 A.D. But the safer plan is, no doubt, to rely on the general tone of the book, to which I appeald at first; and I do not think many readers will differ from the conclusion of my correspondent and myself on the point of the author's not being a man of 27.—F.

p. xii. *William Stafford and the Popish Plot.* Mr Greenfield sends me a further note (29 July 1876), which is interesting, but contains no evidence as to the authorship of the *Briefe Conceipt*:—

"The difference between us as to the author of the '*Compendium*' is narrowed to a question of likelihood. I think the balance is in favour of the son of Queen Elizabeth's Lady of the Bedchamber.

"Excuse me for suggesting that you do not seem to understand the part which William Stafford played in the project of Des Trappes. This branch of the Stafford family was strictly Protestant, of the Calvinistic type. In the reign of Mary, Sir William and his wife, with their eldest son and daughter, migrated to Geneva, where their youngest son—afterwards Sir John Stafford, Kt.—was born and baptized in Jan. 1555-6, *John Calvin* being the godfather.

"William, their second son, was not a *popish plotter*. He may have been an intriguer and informer of Walsingham's. The political morality of that age was not what it is now. Plot was met by counterplot. Elizabeth and her Lords of the Council 'knew well how to throw the responsibility of odious measures upon their instruments.' Success was rewarded, whilst failure was disowned and not unfrequently punished. The system of spies and informers was at its height; and Walsingham, as Secretary of State, employed both largely.

"January 1586-7 was a very critical time for the Queen and the minister. The Babington conspiracy had only just before been stamped out. It had been preceded by those of Somerville in 1583 and Throgmorton in 1584, besides a general commotion of opposite religious parties. In 1584 the Earl of Leicester organised the association '*against popish conspirators*,' which was mainly to strengthen Elizabeth's hold over the Scottish Queen's liberty and life. More recently the commission for the trial of the Queen of Scots had pronounced sentence of death against her. Pretexts were sought for justifying Elizabeth's signing the warrant of execution. The King of France had sent over M. de Bellievre as a special envoy to intercede for Mary's life. He had discharged his mission before the end of December, and was now demanding his passport of return, which he received on 14 January 1586-7. Such are facts. Need I paint the effect of the situation upon an aspirant for court favour? The hope of reward, if he succeeded in implicating any of the members of the French embassy in a plot for getting rid of Elizabeth and saving the life of Mary?

"Whether he were a volunteer, or an agent of Walsingham's, the effect of success, or failure, would be the same. Stafford tells us, however, that Walsingham directed him to go on with the affair.

"The statements of Stafford and Des Trappes as to who first took up the project of assassination are contradictory. Anyhow, Walsingham could not have believed that Stafford was in earnest, even if it emanated from Stafford: otherwise, we may be sure he would not have come out of the Tower alive. As it was, Stafford failed in committing any of the French embassy in a plot, and of so adding a justifiable pretext for Elizabeth's signing the warrant for the execution of Mary. Hence it became colourably necessary, for the credit of Elizabeth and her minister, to imprison Stafford. So much as to Stafford's doings in this matter.

"With regard to the author of the *Compendium*, I think Dr Bliss's assertion, viz., 'Besides him' (W. Stafford, M.A., of Ch. Ch. in 1618) 'was another of the same name, but before in time,' &c., must be restricted in its application to an *Oxford Student*, and not generally. This construction strengthens the claim I make for the Fellow of New College as the author of the *Compendium*."

p. xiii. Note that our Wm. Stafford had studied Moral Philosophy; p. 12, l. 26-7.—F.

p. 12. *Image* = representation. Cp. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 248.

p. 14. "*there comes me in*." This is another of the so common instances of what Grammarians call the Ethic Dative, found constantly in Greek. It occurs in Shakspere over and over again: *Two Gent. of Verona*, IV. iv., "he steps *me* to her trencher"; "he thrusts *me* himself into the company"; &c., &c.

p. 21. "*There may be . . that they had*." Cp. *Love's Labour Lost*, I. i. 71.

p. 23. compleat*e*. This may be an example of the adverbial inflexion in *-e* common in Chaucer. See Morris, Introduction to Prologue, p. xl. There is another instance, upright*e*, on p. 24.

p. 24. *to ear*. Cp. *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. iii.

p. 27. *esteemeth*. "The plural of the pres. indic. ending in *-eth* was the ordinary inflexion for all persons in the Old English Southern Dialects."—Morris, Int. to Chaucer's Prologue, p. xxxviii.

p. 33, l. 6 from foot: *any*. Is this for *many*, or a use of *any* = some?

p. 34. *Meany*: cp. Chaucer, meyné, *Knts. Ta.* l. 400; *Nonnes Priests Ta.* l. 573. Mod. French *ménu*.—I. M.

As *meine* is one of the words that Stanihurst calls 'Chaucer English,' I take the opportunity of reprinting all he says on the English talkt in Ireland:—

Old English in Weisford and Fingall.

"Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept as well there [in Wexford] as in Fingall, as they terme a spider, an attercop; a wisp, a wad; a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket; a sillibucke,[1] a copprous; a faggot, a blease or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I iudge); a physician, a leach; a gap, a shard; a base court or quadrangle, a bowen, or rather (as I doo suppose,) a barton; the houshold or folks, *meanie*; sharpe,

[1] Sillybauk, a syllabub. *Lincolnshire*.—Halliwell's Gloss.

keene ; estrange, vncouth ; easie, eeth[1] or eefe ; a dunghill, a mixen. As for the word 'bater,' that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a meere Irish word that crept vnawares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus, seemed to have obserued : yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For the women haue in their English toong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with vttering their words so peeuishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie, in words of two syllables they give the last the accent : as they saie, markeat, baskeat, gossoupe, pussoat, Robart, Niclese, &c : which doubtles dooth disbeautifie their English aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English."—1586. Richard Stanihurst, *The Description of Ireland*, Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587, vol. ii. p. 11, col. i, l. 28—58.—F.

Bater.

The pronuntiation of the Irish women.

p. 37. *Brass money.*

French Soldier. Est il impossible d'echapper la force de ton bras?
Pistol. Brass, cur !
Thou damned and luxurious mountain goat,
Offer'st me brass ?—*Henry V.*, IV. iv. 17—21.—P. A. Daniel.

p. 40. "*Men do turne . . . but only sheepe.*" This passage, with those on p. 46 and p. 80, is strong evidence of the existence of the Old Teutonic Arable Mark. See Maine's Village Communities, Lect. III.

p. 49. "*Surely common . . men the more.*" Compare with this the following passage from the official letter given to Sir Hugh Willoughby and Sir Richard Chancellour in 1553, when they set out on their famous voyage of discovery. It is quoted in the Introduction to Adam Smith, from Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 231 : "For the God of Heaven & Earth, greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region to the ende that one shoulde need of another ; that by this means, friendship might be established among all men and every one seek to gratifie all . . ."

p. 50. *foreign trifles exchanged for English valuables.* Compare Harrison, Book II, chap. 9, p. 235, col. 2, ed. 1587 : "I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own, but other mens, do most of all delite vs ; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorsses for children, dogs of wax or of cheese, twopennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we

[1] A.S. *eaðe, eðe.*

reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries." See too chap. 10, p. 236, col. 1, l. 50, "one trifling toie not worth the carriage, comming (as the prouerbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea, is more woorth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home." And chap. 1, p. 221, col. 1, l. 27, "And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteemed then a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value." Also, Book II., chap. 19, p. 323 of my edition.—F.

p. 51. *the Millener:* the dealer in goods imported from Milan. The name has narrowd into that of the maker or seller of ladies' bonnets, hats, caps, &c.—F.

p. 51. *glasses:* on the general use of glass drinking vessels, see Harrison, Book II., p. 147; and Falstaff in 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 155, "Glasses, glasses is the only drinking." Also F. Thynne's *Emblems*, &c. p. 62, l. 8, "glasse vessells for banquettinge are dailie had in pryse."—F.

p. 51. *vile claie*, &c.: the silex and potash to make glass of.—F.

p. 51. *pryple (pebble) stones and Ferne rootes.* Compare Harrison, p. 147: "The poorest also will haue glasse if they may; but sith the Venecian is somewhat to deere for them, they content themselues with *such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone.*"—F.

p. 52. *Wool exported, and wrought abroad.* Compare Harrison, Book III., chap. 10, p. 236, ed. 1587: "Some of them [foreigner traders] can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case [= skin] of a fox, of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will, for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo starue and beg their bread, and, for lacke of dailie practise, vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science."—F.

p. 64. *Excesse in apparell and fare.* Compare Harrison, Book II., chapters 7 and 6, p. 167—172, p. 144—155.—F.

p. 64. "*Countenance*," fair shew. Cp. *Measure for Measure*, V. i., "Unfold the evil which is here wrapt up in *countenance*."

p. 97. "*hee that is sometimes . . truth on his side.*" There is a passage similar to this in J. S. Mill's *Essay on Liberty*, ch. ii. p. 16, People's Edition.

ARCHAIC WORDS AND FORMS.

A, to, p. 27.
A doe, to do, p. 15.
Aduyses, p. 12, l. 12, opinions. Fr. *avis*.
Afore, before, p. 22.
Agayne, *prep.* against, p. 40, l. 12 from foot.
Agglettes, tagged points, p. 50.
Appayred, grew worse, p. 80.
Areses, pieces of Arras tapestry hangings, p. 66.
Assay, p. 45, try.
Assoyle, resolve, explain, p. 96.
Assuered, p. 43, sure.
Away, *for* do away, p. 66.

Basing, p. 49, cowering.
Ben, p. 80, been.
Biefes, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, oxen.
Booty, remedy, p. 18; same as Boote, Chaucer's Prologue, l. 424.
Bouchers, p. 71, butchers.
Bread-corn and malt-corn, p. 46.
Broode, *sb.* breeding, stock, p. 43, l. 10.
But, only, "liveth but a hundreth," p. 22.
By, during, "lived *by* all that space," p. 23, and p. 26.
By, on, "lived *by* their day wages," p. 16.
By course, in order, p. 63.
By likelihood, p. 82, probably.
By means it being, p. 80, by means of its being.

Can, know, p. 25.
Censure, p. 12, line 21, opinion, criticism.
Chargeable, p. 46, expensive.
Cheape, *sb.* p. 35, bargain, price.
Chearished, p. 47. Fr. *cherer*, to cheere, to cherish, &c.
Ciuilion, p. 40, l. 7 from foot, one learned in the Civil Law.
Civile, p. 21, civilized.
Civility, p. 26, civilization.
Cleane, p. 19, proper, neat, well appointed.
Close, p. 14, private.
Come in place, p. 30.
Commodities, commodiously, conveniently: "lying commodities for them," p. 66, l. 3 from foot.
Competently, p. 49, enough.
Compleate, p. 23, completely.
Conceipt, conception, idea, p. 67.
Concertation, p. 27, conference, p. 20, 23, comparison.
Conjunct, p. 23.
Conservation, p. 15, preservation.
Considered *of*, for *by*, p. 35, l. 25; consider me, p. 34.
Countenance, 'fair shew,' state, p. 63, p. 64, and note.
Cut, slasht, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.

Damozins, p. 54, damsons.
Dearth, dearness, p. 47, l. 4 from foot.
Declination, decline, p. 65.
Devise, p. 12. Fr. "*Devis:* m. Speech, talke, discourse, a conference or communication." — Cotgrave.
Disceptation, p. 12, l. 7 from foot. Fr. "*Diceptation* . . disputation, contention, arguing, debating, reasoning, about a matter."—Cotgr.

Discussion, distinguishing, p. 24.
Dispend, p. 95, spend.
Displeasaunt, p. 43, l. 3 from foot, displeasing.

Eare, to plough, p. 24, and note.
Eke, p. 72, also.
Enhaunse, p. 28, raise.
Ensearch, p. 30, l. 3 from foot, search out, seek for.
Enter-comminers, p. 86, inter-commoners.
Entermedled, p. 86, intermixed.
Equipolent, p. 22, of equal power.
Erable, p. 41, l. 15 from foot, ploughable, arable.
Estats, states, condition, p. 20.
Esteeme, p. 58, estimate.
Evangelicall, p. 94, preaching the gospel.
Exercise, tillage, practise it, carry it on, p. 44, l. 15.

Feate, p. 12, l. 13; p. 41. Fr. "*faict:* m. A fact, act, motion, . . also, an allegation, proposition, argument, or article, in pleading." —Cotgrave.
Feate, manufacture, trade, p. 46, p. 69, l. 19.
Fetched at, p. 51.
For, before infinitive, for to helpe, p. 18, like Fr. *pour aider.*
Freating, p. 59, fretting, biting.
Fryseadowes, p. 51, ? Frisian fine cloth.
Furniture of her warres, equipment for them, p. 24.

Garded, braided, ornamented, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.
Gardes, braidings, ornaments, p. 65, l. 19, 20.
Gettings, earnings, p. 29.
Goeth clear, is free from blame, p. 27.
Good, better, best, used as a term of comparison, "good cheap," a good bargain, p. 34 et passim.
Graffe, graft, p. 24.
Groundely, p. 55, fundamentally.
Growing of, proceeding from, p. 70.

Haleth, p. 31, haul, pull.
Handy labour, p. 41.
Hath bene, p. 40, have been.
Have in charge, p. 11.
Him, it, p. 82.
His, *gen.* its, p. 81.
Holde, p. 35, l. 5, holding, farm.
Holpen, p. 33, helped.
Hoyssing, p. 82, hoisting.
Husband, farmer, husbandman, p. 32, &c.; p. 40, l. 4 from foot.

Image, p. 12, picture.
Impulsion, p. 78, impulse.
In maner, p. 21; in manner for, p. 15; maner, welt: "well maner of things."
Inning, p. 24, getting in.
Intend, p. 69, l. 20, devise, create.

Lay forth, bring forward, p. 42.
Least, p. 77, lest.
Leaver, p. 37, rather.
Let, hinder, p. 94 et passim.
Licked themselves whole, p. 28, 91.
Longe of, result of, modern vulgar along of, p. 16.
Luker, p. 48, lucre, money, gain, profit.

Maintenaunce, in, of, p. 41, in support of.
Manurance, holding or handling (?), p. 63.
Manure, p. 63, p. 77, to cultivate. Cp. *Othello*, I. iii. 328: "sterile with idleness or *manured* with industry."
Meane, p. 41, means.
Meany (mainy, p. 84), household, following, p. 34, p. 64, and note.

Member of Philosophy, p. 12.
Minish, p. 19.
Misterye, p. 69, trade, business.
Moe, more, p. 22.
More, greater, p. 32, l. 11 from foot.
Mought, p. 80, might.
Move, p. 12, l. 8 from foot, touch on, discuss.
Muttons, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, sheep.
Myne, p. 68, my.

Neare, p. 76, nearer.
Non, not, p. 23.
Nor, no, p. 21, double negative, like Fr.
Noted a, *for* noted as a, p. 14.

Occasion, take, p. 69.
Occupied, carried on, practist, p. 47, l. 18.
Occupier, p. 89.
Occurrents, occurrences, p. 23.
Of, p. 46, l. 5, by.
Of my faith, p. 27; of all hands, p 18, *for* on.
On, complain, *for* of, p. 13.
Ordered, p. 27, l. 10, arranged, made accessible.
Other, for others, p. 15.
Over, besides, in addition to, p. 8.
Owches, p. 50, ornaments, jewels.

Paines, punishments, p. 47.
Pass my compass, p. 12, go beyond my limit.
Paynefull, p. 47, l. 1, trouble-taking, laborious.
Penner, p. 50, l. 5 from foot, pencase.
Percase, perchance, perhaps, p. 41, l. 13, &c.
Perfit, perfect, p. 23.
Peruse, p. 63, examine.
Phantasies, fancies, p. 68.
Physicke, Physics, p. 24, l. 2 from foot.
Plentious, well to do, p. 19.
Poulder, powder, p. 29, l. 5 from foot.
Prety while, a, p. 32.
Provoked, p. 12, l. 11, p. 47, l. 8 from foot, calld on, stirrd up.
Puke, French, p. 64, l. 7 from foot. 'Explained by Baret, a colour between russet and black. "*Chiáro scuro*, a darke puke colour," Florio, p. 97.'—Halliwell's Glossary.
Pull, p. 30, pull up, pluck out.
Purchased, procured, p. 25.
Pylate, p. 26.

Rear corn, to grow it, p. 46.
Refreshing, *sb.* p. 41.
Remember, remind, p. 66.
Reporte me, I, p. 29, I appeal (to you).
Resemble, compare, p. 26.
Resemble, to, of, p. 15.
Respect, to have, to, p. 28
Rise *at* your hand, p. 35, l. 20, rise from, be caused by, your hand.
Romth, space, p. 57.

Scripture, hath not red scripture, p. 26, studied. Cp. Fr. *Scavoir moult d'escripture*, to be learned, or skilfull in, or well acquainted with, most bookes.
Seene, a man universally, p. 32, cultured.
Selled, p. 78, sold.
Set by, p. 25, 26, to value.
Sette, lease at a fixt rent: "sette your land," p. 35; "price is so set," p. 35.
Shale, p. 26, husk, shell.
Shiftes, p. 35, l. 14, turns, tricks.
Should, p. 22, 37, would.
Sith, p. 30, since.
Skant, scarcely, p. 14.
Slake, p. 93.
Smarte, p. 81.
Sorte, of that, p. 74, in that way.

Spake, p. 32, spoke.
Sparkes of gold, p. 51.
Spoke, p. 45, spoken.
Stay, at a, p. 28, at a fixt level, permanent.
Stent, *sb.* p. 35, l. 4, stop, point.
Stented, fixt, stopt, limited, p. 63, 66.
Stricke, strike, p. 60.
Subjection of, subjection to, p. 21.
Such who, p. 27.
Suerty, p. 30, safety.
Sweeped, swept, p. 66.

Taken, p. 12, considered.
Tallage, p. 86, l. 8, duty, tax. Fr. "*taille:* f. A taske, or tax; a tallage, tribute, imposition."—Cotgrave.
Taryng, p. 22, tarrying, remaining.
Than, then, p. 11, 14, 17.
That that, that which, p. 23, 66.
That, *for* those, p. 23; *for* that which, p. 22; *for* what, p. 12.
This, *adv.* thus, p. 35, l. 7 from foot.
Thorough, p. 30, through.
To, in addition to, p. 23.
Trade, p. 91.
Travaile, p. 21.
Trespass, break (the law), p. 85, l. 13 from foot.
Trimming, ornamentation applied to houses, p. 66.

Understanded, understood, p. 56.
Uprighte, uprightly, p. 24.
Use, p. 38, to be in the habit of.
Uttered, p. 69, l. 8, put forth, exported, sold.

VERBS.

Infinitive Mood, used for Subjunctive.

Societie to grow, p. 49.
to the intent to eat, p. 14; to the intent to continue, p. 41.
in hope to come, p. 16; ground to sustaine, p. 72.

Used for Modern dependent Indicative Clause.

"I . . confess . . that, . . yet the dearth . . *to remain and continue*," p. 81; "to assure . . . the same to be," p. 60.

Used for Present Participle.

have given over to live, p. 17; heard of it to do, p. 54.

Past Participle in *-en*.

are growen, p. 59.
is comen, p. 66.

Indicative Mood, Present tense, 3rd pers. plural, ending in *-eth*.

Esteemeth, p. 26, note.
Conueieth, p. 66.
Standeth, p. 31.

Sing. number after plural nouns, &c.:

some excelles, p. 12; other that followes, *for* others who follow, p. 15; inclosures . . . causes, p. 15; men sendes, p. 20, &c.

Verderers, p. 66, ? Fr. "*Ouvrage de verdure*, Forest worke; or flourisht worke, wherein garden*s*, woods, or forests, be represented."—Cotgrave.
Vente, p. 84, last line; course.
Ventered, p. 50, sold. Fr. *vente*, sale.
Vility, p. 85, l. 3 from foot, vileness.

Wall, driveth me to the wall, puzzles me, beats me, p. 35.
Weaking, weakening, p. 40, l. 17.
Weild, p. 77, l. 3 from foot, wield, manage.
What, p. 18, which.
Whether, p. 79, where, whither.
Which, p. 14, who.
Whom, p. 21, those with whom.
Wist, p. 45, knew.
Would, p. 41, should.

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WM. CLOWES AND SONS, PRINTERS.

THE ROGUES AND VAGABONDS

OF

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH.

PRESENTED

TO HIS FELLOW MEMBERS OF

The New Shakspere Society

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL.

ROXBURGHE AND BAGFORD BALLAD WOODCUTS OF BEGGARS, &c.,
here, and on the backs of the Title-pages too.

The Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakspeare's Youth,

DESCRIBED BY

Jn. AWDELEY in his *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, 1561-73,
Thos. HARMAN in his *Caueat for Common Cursetors*, 1567-73,
and in *The Groundworke of Conny-catching*, 1592.

EDITED BY

EDWARD VILES & F. J. FURNIVALL

IN 1869 FOR THE *EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY*,

AND NOW REPRINTED.

PUBLISHT FOR

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FORETALK.

THE 550 copies of this Book that I hand over to the Society towards making up its issue for this year, 1880, are but a token of repentance for my oversight in ordering Part II. of my edition of Stubbes's *Anatomie* to be sent out last year, when there was no money to pay for it, instead of keeping it back for this year. Not being able to afford a fresh book, I can only offer this reprint of an old one, which was used in part by Harrison in his *Description of England*, I. 218-219, and which I have always intended should form one of our *Shakspere's-England* Series. (My *Captain Cox*, or Laneham's Letter on the Kenilworth Festivities in 1575 (Ballad Soc.), should form another, when money can be found for it.)

Thomas Harman's Will (p. xiv, below) I couldn't find at Doctors' Commons when I searcht for it, though three John-Harman wills of his time turnd up.

The print of the Stationers' Registers calld for at p. xxvi, has since been produc't by Mr. Arber, to whose energy we are all so much indebted for such numbers of capital texts; and the book only needs an Index to be of real use. The entries on p. ii, vi, vii, below, are in Arber's *Transcript*, i. 157, 334, 345. (See too i. 348, 369.†) The Hunterian Club, Glasgow, reprinted, in 1874, S. Rowlands's *Martin Mark-all* (p. xvi, below) from the text of 1610, in its handsome edition of all Rowlands's works.

As connected, more or less, with the Vagabonds of London, I add, overleaf, a copy of the curious cut of the notorious Southwark brothel, 'Holland's Leaguer' in 1632, on which Mr. Rendle has commented in his "Bankside, Southwark," *Harrison*, Part II. p. ix-x., and the site of which is shown on the left of our first plan from Roque's Map, *ib*, p. 67*.

The Brothel is shown, says Mr. Ebsworth, (*Amanda Ballads*, 1880, p. 507*), fortified and sentried, as kept by a Mrs. Holland, before 1631. "The picture was frontispiece of a quarto pamphlet, '*Holland's Leaguer; or, an Historical Discourse of the Life and Actions of Donna Britanica Hollandia, the Arch Mistris of the wicked women of Eutopia: wherein is detected the notorious sinne of Pandarisme*,' etc., sm. 4to. printed by A. M. for Richard Barnes, 1632. . . .

"Holland's Leaguer claimed to be an island out of the ordinary jurisdiction. The portcullis, drawbridge, moat, and wicket for espial, as well as an armed bully or Pandar to quell disagreeable intruders, if by chance they got admittance without responsible introduction, all point to an organized system. There were also the garden-walks for sauntering and 'doing a spell of embroidery, or fine work,' *i. e.* flirtation; the summer-house that was proverbially famous or infamous for intrigues, and the river conveniently near for disposal of awkward visitors who might have met with misadventure.

"Shackerly Marmion's 'excellent comedy,' *Holland's Leaguer*, 1632, was reprinted in 1875, in William Paterson of Edinburgh's choice series, *Dramatists of the Restoration*. The fourth act gives an exposure of the Leaguers' garrison, where riot, disease, and robbery are unchecked. Thus *Trimalchio* says,

> 'I threw thy *Cerberus* a sleepy morsel,
> And paid thy *Charon* for my waftage over,
> And I have a golden sprig for my *Proserpina*.
> *Bawd:* Then you are welcome, Sir!'

---

† i. 270: A ballett intituled *Tom Tell Truth*, A.D. 1565; and i. 307, 'an interlude, *the Cruell Detter* by Wager,' licenst to Colwell in 1565-6.

The Fraternitye of Vacabondes

BY JOHN AWDELEY

(LICENSED IN 1560-1, IMPRINTED THEN, AND IN 1565)

FROM THE EDITION OF 1575 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

A Caueat or Warening for Commen Cursetors vulgarely called Vagabones

BY THOMAS HARMAN ESQUIERE,

FROM THE 3RD EDITION OF 1567, BELONGING TO HENRY HUTH, ESQ.

COLLATED WITH THE 2ND EDITION OF 1567 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD, AND WITH THE REPRINT OF THE 4TH EDITION OF 1573.

A Sermon in Praise of Thieves and Thiebery

BY PARSON HABEN OR HYBERDYNE,

FROM THE LANSDOWNE MS. 98, AND COTTON VESP. A. 25.

THOSE PARTS OF

The Groundworke of Conny-catching (ed. 1592)

THAT DIFFER FROM *HARMAN'S CAUEAT*.

EDITED BY

EDWARD VILES & F. J. FURNIVALL.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCLXIX.

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PREFACE.

If the ways and slang of Vagabonds and Beggars interested Martin Luther enough to make him write a preface to the *Liber Vagatorum*[1] in 1528, two of the ungodly may be excused for caring, in 1869, for the old Rogues of their English land, and for putting together three of the earliest tracts about them. Moreover, these tracts are part of the illustrative matter that we want round our great book on Elizabethan England, Harrison's *Description of Britain*, and the chief of them is quoted by the excellent parson who wrote that book.

The first of these three tracts, Awdeley's *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, has been treated by many hasty bibliographers, who can never have taken the trouble to read the first three leaves of Harman's book, as later than, and a mere pilfering from, Harman's *Caueat*. No such accusation, however, did Harman himself bring against the worthy printer-author (herein like printer-author Crowley, though he was preacher too,) who preceded him. In his Epistle dedicatory to the Countes of Shrewsbury, p. 20, below, Harman, after speaking of 'these wyly wanderers,' vagabonds, says in 1566 or 1567,

> There was *a fewe yeares since* a small bréefe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey,—of whom I knowe not,—that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge practyses, but well worthy of prayse.

[1] *Liber Vagatorum: Der Betler Orden:* First printed about 1514. Its first section gives a special account of the several orders of the 'Fraternity of Vagabonds;' the 2nd, sundry *notabilia* relating to them; the 3rd consists of a 'Rotwelsche Vocabulary,' or 'Canting Dictionary.' See a long notice in the Wiemarisches Jahrbuch, vol. 10; 1856. *Hotten's Slang Dictionary:* Bibliography.

This description of the 'small bridle' and the 'lyde shewe' of the 'rauen and rage,' exactly suits Awdeley's work: and the 'fewe yeares since' also, with the date of what may be safely assumed to be the first edition of the *Fraternitye*, by John Awdeley or John Sampson, or Sampson Awdeley,—for by all these names, says Mr Payne Collier, was our one man known:—

It may be disputed whether this printer's name were really Sampson, or Awdeley: he was made free of the Stationers' Company as Sampson, and so he is most frequently termed towards the commencement of the Register; but he certainly wrote and printed his name Awdeley or Awdeley; now and then it stands in the Register 'Sampson Awdeley.' It is the more important to settle the point, because . . . he was not only a printer, but a versifier,[1] and ought to have been included by Ritson in his *Bibliographica Poetica*. (Registers of the Stationers' Company, A.D. 1848, vol. i. p. 23.)

These verses of Awdeley's, or Sampson's, no doubt led to his 'small bridle' being entered in the Stationers' Register as a 'ballett':

"1560-1. Rd. of John Sampson, for his lycense for pryntinge of a ballett called the description of vakaboundes . . . . iiij[d].

"[This entry seems to refer to an early edition of a very curious work, printed again by Sampson, alias Awdeley, in 1565, when it bore the following title, 'The fraternitie of vacabondes,' as well of rufling vacabondes as of beggerly,[2] as well of women as of men,[2] and as well of gyrles as of boyes, with their proper names and qualityes. Also the xxv. orders of knaves, otherwise called a quartten of knawes. Confirmed this yere by Cocke Lorel.' The edition without date mentioned by Dibdin (iv. 564) may have been that of the entry. Another impression by Awdeley, dated 1575 [which we reprint] is reviewed in the *British Bibliographer*, ii. 12, where it is asserted (as is very probable, though we are without distinct evidence of the fact) that the printer was the compiler of the book, and he certainly introduces it by three six line stanzas. If this work came out originally in '1561,' according to the entry, there is no doubt that it was the precursor of a very singular series of tracts on the same subject, which will be noticed in their proper places.]"—J. P. Collier, *Registers*, i. 42.

As above said, I take Harman's 'fewe yeares'—in 1566 or 7—to point to the 1561 edition of Awdeley, and not the 1565 ed. And as to Awdeley's authorship,—what can be more express than his own words,

[1] See the back of his title-page, p. 2, below.
[2] *as well* and *and as well* not in the title of the 1575 edition.

p. 2, below, that what the Vagabond caught at a Session confest as to 'both names and states of most and least of this their Vacabondes brotherhood,' *that*,—'at the request of a worshipful man, I ['The Printer,' that is, John Awdeley] have set it forth as well as I can.'

But if a doubt on Awdeley's priority to Harman exists in any reader's mind, let him consider this second reference by Harman to Awdeley (p. 60, below), not noticed by the bibliographers: "For-as-much as these two names, a Iarkeman and a Patrico, bée in *the old briefe of vacabonds*, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Iarkeman hath his name of a *Iarke, which is a seale in their Language*, as one should *make writinges and set seales for lycences* and pasporte," and then turn to Awdeley's *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, and there see, at page 5, below:

¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth *to make counterfaite licences* which they call Gybes, *and sets to Seales, in their language called Iarkes.* (See also 'A Whipiacke,' p. 4.)

Let the reader then compare Harman's own description of a *Patrico*, p. 60, with that in 'the old *Briefe of Vacabonds*,' Awdeley, p. 6:

Awdeley.	Harman.
¶ A PATRIARKE Co.	there is a PATRICO . . .
A Patriarke Co doth *make mariages*, & that is *vntill death depart* the maried folke.	whiche in their language is a priest, that should *make mariages tyll death dyd depart.*

And surely no doubt on the point will remain in his mind, though, if needed, a few more confirmations could be got, as

Awdeley (p. 4).	Harman (p. 44).
¶ A PALLIARD.	¶ A Pallyard.
A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.	These Palliardes . . go with patched clokes, and haue their Morts with them.

We may conclude, then, certainly, that Awdeley did not plagiarize Harman; and probably, that he first published his *Fraternitye* in 1561. The tract is a mere sketch, as compared with Harman's *Caueat*, though in its descriptions (p. 6—11) of 'A Curtesy Man,'

'A Cheatour or Fingerer,' and 'A Ring-Faller' (one of whom tried his tricks on me in Gower-street about ten days ago), it gives as full a picture as Harman does of the general run of his characters. The edition of 1575 being the only one accessible to us, our trusty Oxford copier, Mr George Parker, has read the proofs with the copy in the Bodleian.

Let no one bring a charge of plagiarizing Awdeley, against Harman, for the latter, as has been shown, referred fairly to Awdeley's '*small breefe*' or '*old briefe of vacabonds*,' and wrote his own "bolde Beggars booke" (p. 91) from his own long experience with them.

Harman's *Caueat* is too well-known and widely valued a book to need description or eulogy here. It is *the* standard work on its subject,—'these rowsey, ragged, rabblement of rakehelles' (p. 19)—and has been largely plundered by divers literary cadgers. No copy of the first edition seems to be known to bibliographers. It was published in 1566 or 1567,—probably the latter year,[1]—and must (I conclude) have contained less than the second, as in that's 'Harman to the Reader,' p. 28, below, he says 'well good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare doune whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse.' He speaks again of his first edition at p. 44, below, 'I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture, that I had amongst others, whyle this boke was *first a printynge*;' and also at p. 51, below, 'Apon Alhol'enday in the morning last anno domini 1566, or my booke was halfe printed, I meane *the first impression*.' All Hallows' or All Saints' Day is November 1.

The edition called the second[2], also bearing date in 1567, is known to us in two states, the latter of which I have called the third edition. The first state of the second edition is shown by the Bodleian copy, which is 'Augmented and inlarged by the fyrst author here of,' and has, besides smaller differences specified in the footnotes in our pages, this great difference, that the arrangement of 'The Names of

[1] Compare the anecdote, p. 66, 68, 'the *last* sommer, Anno Domini, 1566.'

[2] 'now at this seconde Impression,' p. 27; 'Whyle this second Impression was in printinge,' p. 87.

the Vpright Men, Roges, and Pallyards' is not alphabetical, by the first letter of the Christian names, as in the second state of the second edition (which I call the third edition), but higgledy-piggledy, or, at least, without attention to the succession of initials either of Christian or Sur-names, thus, though in three columns:

¶ VPRIGHT MEN.

Richard Brymmysh.	Robert Gerse.
John Myllar.	Gryffen.
Wel arayd Richard.	Richard Barton.
John Walchman.	John Braye.
Wylli*am* Chamborne.	Thomas Cutter.
Bryan Medcalfe.	Dowzabell skylfull in fence.

[&c.]

¶ ROGES.

Harry Walles with the little mouth.	Lytle Robyn.
John Waren.	Lytle Dycke.
Richard Brewton.	Richard Iones.
Thomas Paske.	Lambart Rose.
George Belbarby.	Harry Mason.
Humfrey Warde.	Thomas Smithe with the skal skyn.

[&c.]

¶ PALLYARDS.

Nycholas Newton carieth a fayned lycence.	Edward Heyward, hath his Morte following hym Whiche fayneth ye crank.
Bashforde.	Preston.
Robart Lackley.	Robart Canloke.
Wylliam Thomas.	

[&c.]

This alone settles the priority of the Bodley edition, as no printer, having an index alphabetical, would go and muddle it all again, even for a lark. Moreover, the other collations confirm this priority. The colophon of the Bodley edition is dated A. D. 1567, 'the eight of January;' and therefore A. D. 1567-8.

The second state of the second edition—which state I call the third edition—is shown by the copy which Mr Henry Huth has, with his never-failing generosity, lent us to copy and print from. It omits 'the eight of January,' from the colophon, and has 'Anno Domini 1567' only. Like the 2nd edition (or 2 A), this 3rd edition (or 2 B) has the statement on p. 87, below: 'Whyle this second Im-

pression was in printinge, it fortuned that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter;' and this brings both the 2nd and 3rd editions (or 2 A and 2 B) to the year 1568, modern style. The 4th edition, so far as I know, was published in 1573, and was reprinted by Machell Stace (says Bohn's Lowndes) in 1814. From that reprint Mr W. M. Wood has made a collation of words, not letters, for us with the 3rd edition. The chief difference of the 4th edition is its extension of the story of the 'dyssembling Cranke,' Nycholas Genings, and 'the Printar of this booke' Wylliam Gryffith (p. 53-6, below), which extension is given in the footnotes to pages 56 and 57 of our edition. We were obliged to reprint this from Stace's reprint of 1814, as our searchers could not find a copy of the 4th edition of 1573 in either the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Cambridge University Library.

Thus much about our present edition. I now hark back to the first, and the piracies of it or the later editions, mentioned in Mr J. P. Collier's *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, i. 155-6, 166.

"1566-7 Rd. of William Greffeth, for his lycense for printinge of a boke intituled a Caviat for commen Corsetors, vulgarly called Vagabons, by Thomas Harman . . . . . iiij^{d}.

"[No edition of Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for common Cursetors,' of the date of 1566, is known, although it is erroneously mentioned in the introductory matter to the reprint in 1814, from H. Middleton's impression of 1573. It was the forerunner of various later works of the same kind, some of which were plundered from it without acknowledgment, and attributed to the celebrated Robert Greene. Copies of two editions in 1567, by Griffith, are extant, and, in all probability, it was the first time it appeared in print: Griffith entered it at Stationers' Hall, as above, in 1566, in order that he might publish it in 1567. Harman's work was preceded by several ballads relating to vagabonds, the earliest of which is entered on p. 42 [Awdeley, p. ii. above]. On a subsequent page (166) is inserted a curious entry regarding 'the boke of Rogges,' or Rogues.]

"1566-7. For Takynge of Fynes as foloweth. Rd. of Henry

Bynnyman, for his fyne for undermy[n]dinge and procurynge, as moche as in hym ded lye, a Copye from wylliam greffeth, called the boke of Rogges . . . . . iij^{s}.

"[This was certainly Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for Common Cursetors'; and here we see Bynneman fined for endeavouring to *undermine* Griffith by procuring the copy of the work, in order that Bynneman might print and publish it instead of Griffith, his rival in business. The next item may show that Gerard Dewes had also printed the book, no doubt without license, but the memorandum was crossed out in the register.]

"Also, there doth remayne in the handes of Mr Tottle and Mr Gonneld, then wardens, the somme of iij^{li}. vij^{s}. viij^{d}., wherto was Recevyd of garrad dewes for pryntinge of the boke of Rogges in a^{o} 1567 . . . . . ij^{li}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}.

"[All tends to prove the desire of stationers to obtain some share of the profits of a work, which, as we have already shown, was so well received, that Griffith published two editions of it in 1567.]"

The fact is, the book was so interesting that it made its readers thieves, as 'Jack Sheppard' has done in later days. The very woodcutter cheated Harman of the hind legs of the horse on his title, prigged two of his prauncer's props (p. 42).

To know the keen inquiring Social Reformer, Thomas Harman, the reader must go to his book. He lived in the country (p. 34, foot), in [Crayford] Kent (p. 30, p. 35), near a heath (p. 35), near Lady Elizabeth Shrewsbury's parish (p. 19), not far from London (p. 30, p. 35); 'he lodged at the White Friars within the cloister' (p. 51), seemingly while he was having his book printed (p. 53), and had his servant there with him (*ib.*); 'he knew London well' (p. 54, &c.); and in Kent 'beinge placed as a poore gentleman,' he had in 1567, 'kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre,' and where, being kept at home 'through sickenes, he talked dayly with many of these wyly wanderars, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrles,' whose tricks he has so pleasantly set down for us. He did not, though, confine his intercourse with vagabonds to talking, for he says of some, p. 48,

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the seale of the Admiraltie. I haue diuers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes,

wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the same to the pouerty nigh adioyninge to me. p. 51-6.

Our author also practically exposed these tricks, as witness his hunting out the Cranke, Nycholas Genings, and his securing the vagabond's 13*s.* and 4*d.* for the poor of Newington parish, p. 51-6; his making the deaf and dumb beggar hear and speak, p. 58-9 (and securing his money too for the poor). But he fed deserving beggars, see p. 66, p. 20.

Though Harman tells us 'Eloquence haue I none, I neuer was acquaynted with the Muses, I neuer tasted of Helycon' (p. 27-8), yet he could write verses—though awfully bad ones: see them at pages 50 and 89-91, below, perhaps too at p. 26 [1];—he knew Latin—see his comment on Cursetors and Vagabone, p. 27; his *una voce*, p. 43; perhaps his 'Argus eyes,' p. 54; his *omnia venalia Rome*, p. 60; his *homo*, p. 73; he quotes St Augustine (and the Bible), p. 24; &c.;—he studied the old Statutes of the Realm (p. 27); he liked proverbs (see the Index); he was once 'in commission of the peace,' as he says, and judged malefactors, p. 60, though he evidently was not a Justice when he wrote his book; he was a 'gentleman,' says Harrison (see p. xii. below); 'a Iustice of Peace in Kent,[2] in Queene Marie's daies,' says Samuel Rowlands;[3] he bore arms (of heraldry), and had them duly stamped on his pewter dishes (p. 35); he had at least one old 'tennant who customably a greate tyme went twise in the weeke to London, (over Blacke Heathe) eyther wyth fruite or with pescoddes' (p. 30); he hospitably asked his visitors to dinner (p. 45); he had horses in his pasture,[4] the best gelding of which the Pryggers of Prauncers prigged (p. 44); he had an unchaste cow that went to bull every month (p. 67, if his ownership is not chaff here); he had in his 'well-house on the backe side of

[1] Mr J. P. Collier (*Bibliographical Catalogue*, i. 365) has little doubt that the verses at the back of the title-page of Harman's *Caveat* were part of "a ballad intituled a description of the nature of a birchen broom" entered at Stationers' Hall to William Griffith, the first printer of the *Caveat*.

[2] Cp. Kente, p. 37, 43, 48, 61, 63, 66, 68, 77, &c. Moreover, the way in which he, like a Norfolk or Suffolk man, speaks of *shires*, points to a liver in a non *-shire*.

[3] In *Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell*, 1610, quoted below, at p. xvii.

[4] Compare his 'ride to Dartforde to speake with a priest there,' p. 57.

his house, a great cawdron of copper' which the beggars stole (p. 34-5); he couldn't keep his linen on his hedges or in his rooms, or his pigs and poultry from the thieves (p. 21); he hated the 'rascal rabblement' of them (p. 21), and 'the wicked parsons that keepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they haue succour and reliefe'; and, like a wise and practical man, he set himself to find out and expose all their 'vndecent, dolefull [guileful] dealing, and execrable exercyses' (p. 21) to the end that they might be stopt, and sin and wickedness might not so much abound, and thus 'this Famous Empyre be in more welth, and better florysh, to the inestymable joye and comfort' of his great Queen, Elizabeth, and the 'vnspeakable . . reliefe and quietnes of minde, of all her fayth-full Commons and Subiectes.' The right end, and the right way to it. We've some like you still, Thomas Harman, in our Victorian time. May their number grow!

Thus much about Harman we learn from his book and his literary contemporaries and successors. If we now turn to the historian of his county, Hasted, we find further interesting details about our author: 1, that he lived in Crayford parish, next to Erith, the Countess of Shrewsbury's parish; 2, that he inherited the estates of Ellam, and Maystreet, and the manor of Mayton or Maxton; 3, that he was the grandson of Henry Harman, Clerk of the Crown, who had for his arms 'Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable,' which were no doubt those stampt on our Thomas's pewter dishes; 4, that he had a 'descendant,'—a son, I presume—who inherited his lands, and three daughters, one of whom, Bridget, married Henry Binneman—? not the printer, about 1565-85 A.D., p. vi-vii, above.

Hasted in his description of the parish of Crayford, speaking of Ellam, a place in the parish, says:—

"In the 16th year of K. Henry VII. John Ellam alienated it (the seat of Ellam) to Henry Harman, who was then Clerk of the Crown,[1] and

[1] "John Harman, Esquyer, one of the gentilmen hushers of the Chambre of our soverayn Lady the Quene, and the excellent Lady Dame Dorothye Gwydott, widow, late of the town of Southampton, married Dec. 21, 1557." (Extract from the register of the parish of Stratford Bow, given in p. 499, vol. iii. of Lysons's *Environs of London*.

who likewise purchased an estate called Maystreet here, of Cowley and Bulbeck, of Bulbeck-street in this parish, in the 20th year of King Edward IV.[1] On his decease, William Harman, his son, possessed both these estates.[2] On his decease they descended to Thomas Harman, esq., his son; who, among others, procured his lands to be disgavelled, by the act of the 2 & 3 Edw. VI.[3] He married Millicent, one of the daughters of Nicholas Leigh, of Addington, in the county of Surry, esq.[4] His descendant, William Harman, sold both these places in the reign of K. James I. to Robert Draper, esqr."—*History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 209.

The manor of Maxton, in the parish of Hougham "passed to Hobday, and thence to Harman, of Crayford; from which name it was sold by Thomas Harman to Sir James Hales. . . . . William Harman held the manor of Mayton, alias Maxton, with its appurtenances, of the Lord Cheney, as of his manor of Chilham, by Knight's service. Thomas Harman was his son and heir: Rot. Esch. 2 Edw. VI."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vi. p. 47.

"It is laid down as a rule, that nothing but an act of parliament can change the nature of gavelkind lands; and this has occasioned several [acts], for the purpose of disgavelling the possessions of divers gentlemen in this county. . . . . One out of several statutes made for this purpose is the 3rd of Edw. VI."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. cxliii.

And in the list of names given,—taken from Robinson's *Gavelkind*—twelfth from the bottom stands that of THOMAS HARMAN.

Of Thomas Harman's aunt, Mary, Mrs William Lovelace, we find: "John Lovelace, esq., and William Lovelace, his brother, possessed this manor and seat (Bayford-Castle) between them; the latter of whom resided at Bayford, where he died in the 2nd year of K. Edward VI., leaving issue by Mary his wife, daughter of William Harman, of Crayford, seven sons. . . . "—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. ii. p. 612.

The rectory of the parish of Deal was bestowed by the Archbishop on Roger Harman in 1544 (*Hasted*, vol. iv. p. 171).

Harman-street is the name of a farm in the parish of Ash (*Hasted*, vol. iii. p. 691).

[1] Philipott, p. 108. Henry Harman bore for his arms—Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable.

[2] Of whose daughters, Mary married John, eldest son of Wm. Lovelace, of Hever in Kingsdown, in this county; and Elizabeth married John Lennard, Prothonotary, and afterwards *Custos Brevium* of the Common Pleas. See Chevening.

[3] See Robinson's Gavelkind, p. 300.

[4] She was of consanguinity to Abp. Chicheley. *Stemm. Chich.* No. 106. Thomas Harman had three daughters: Anne, who married Wm. Draper, of Erith, and lies buried there; Mary, who married Thomas Harrys; and Bridget, who was the wife of Henry Binneman. *Ibid.*

The excellent parson, William Harrison, in his 'Description of England,' prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles (edit. 1586), quotes Harman fairly enough in his chapter "Of prouision made for the poore," Book II, chap. 10.[1] And as he gives a statement of the sharp punishment enacted for idle rogues and vagabonds by the Statutes of Elizabeth, I take a long extract from his said chapter. After speaking of those who are made 'beggers through other mens occasion,' and denouncing the grasping landlords 'who make them so, and wipe manie out of their occupiengs,' Harrison goes on to those who are beggars 'through their owne default' (p. 183, last line of col. 1, ed. 1586):

"Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or meere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means [2]are in the beginning[2] iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore [2]afore mentioned[2]; but, degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they doo what they can to continue their miserie; and, with such impediments as they haue, to straie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest excercise. Certes, I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such[3] is their owne vngratious lewdnesse and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosiues, and applieng the same to the more fleshie parts of their bodies; and also laieng of ratsbane, sperewort, crowfoot, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull[4] and odious sores, and mooue [2]the harts of[2] the goers by such places where they lie, to [5]yerne at[5] their miserie, and therevpon[2] bestow large almesse vpon them.[6] How artificiallie they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and choose out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in maner coniure or adiure the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Christ to be more conuersant in the mouths of none, and yet the presence of the heuenlie maiestie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke, that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs cheeflie to haue a regard to himselfe and his poore members.

"Vnto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which, hauing sound and perfect lims, doo yet, notwithstanding

[1] In the first edition of Holinshed (1577) this chapter is the 5th in Book III. of Harrison's *Description*.

[2–2] Not in ed. 1577.

[3] *thorow* in ed. 1577.

[4] *piteous* in ed. 1577.

[5–5] *lament* in ed. 1577.

[6] The remainder of this paragraph is not in ed. 1577.

sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diuerse times in their apparell also [1] they will be like seruing men or laborers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and seeke for ships which they neuer lost.[2] But, in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and, by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but licke the sweat from the true laborers' browes, *and* beereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well-disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked [3] *and* detestable maner.

"It is not yet full threescore [4] yeares since this trade began: but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to iudge; for they are now supposed, of one sex and another, to amount vnto aboue 10,000 persons, as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselues, which they name *Canting* (but other pedlers French)—a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke,—a iust reward, no doubt, for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman, also, of late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratious rabble. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth [5] three *and* twentie [5] sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, wherby ech one may [6] take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie [6] what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

Thomas Harman.

"The seuerall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds:—

1. Rufflers.
2. Vprightmen.
3. Hookers or Anglers.
4. Roges.
5. Wild Roges.
6. Priggers of Prancers.
7. Palliards.
8. Fraters.
9. Abrams.
10. Freshwater mariners, or Whip-[iacks.
11. Dummerers.
12. Drunken tinkers.
13. Swadders, or Pedlers.
14. Iarkemen, or Patricoes.

Of Women kinde—

1. Demanders for glimmar, or fire.
2. Baudie Baskets.
3. Mortes.
4. Autem mortes.
5. Walking mortes.
6. Doxes.
7. Delles.
8. Kinching Mortes.
9. Kinching cooes.[7]

[1] Not in ed. 1577. [2] Compare *Harman*, p. 48.
[3] The 1577 ed. inserts *horrible*.
[4] The 1577 ed. reads *fifty*.
[5–5] The 1577 ed. reads 22, which is evidently an error.
[6–6] For these words the 1577 ed. reads *gather*.
[7] The above list is taken from the titles of the chapters in Harman's *Caueat*.

"The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restreine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must needs be martiall law, to be exercised vpon them as vpon theeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the commonwealth *and* welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yoong[1] children, [2]burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people,[2] I need not to rehearse; but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be greeuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person woorth fiue pounds in the queene's books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich housholder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute dooth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie, and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, plaiers,[3] minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretensed[4] schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others, so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From [5]among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and iust cause: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, beene occasion of the death and deuoration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is *and* haue beene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges.[5] Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the queene's maiestie for euerie time that he dooth so succour them, as it

[1] Not in the 1577 ed.

[2–2] These words are substituted for *which they disfigure to begg withal* in the 1577 ed.

[3] The 1577 ed. inserts *bearwards.*

[4] Not in 1577 ed.

[5–5] These three sentences are not in 1577 ed.

shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue beene informed. And thus much of the poore, *and* such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England."

Among the users of Harman's book, the chief and coolest was the author of *The groundworke of Conny-catching*, 1592, who wrote a few introductory pages, and then quietly reprinted almost all Harman's book with an 'I leaue you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered' (p. 103, below). By this time Harman was no doubt dead.—Who will search for his Will in the Wills Office? —Though Samuel Rowlands was alive, he did not show up this early appropriator of Harman's work as he did a later one. As a kind of Supplement to the *Caueat*, I have added, as the 4th tract in the present volume, such parts of the *Groundworke of Conny-catching* as are not reprinted from Harman. The *Groundworke* has been attributed to Robert Greene, but on no evidence (I believe) except Greene's having written a book in three Parts on Conny-catching, 1591-2, and 'A Disputation betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whore is most hvrtfull in Cousonage to the Common-wealth,' 1592.[1] Hearne's copy of the *Groundworke* is bound up in the 2nd vol. of Greene's Works, among George III.'s books in the British Museum, as if it really was Greene's.

Another pilferer from Harman was Thomas Dekker, in his *Belman of London*, 1608, of which three editions were published in the same year (*Hazlitt*). But Samuel Rowlands found him out and showed him up. From the fifth edition of the Belman, the earliest that our copier, Mr W. M. Wood, could find in the British Museum, he has drawn up the following account of the book:

The Belman of London. Bringing to Light the most notorious Villanies that are now practised in the Kingdome. Profitable for Gentlemen, Lawyers, Merchants, Citizens, Farmers, Masters of Housholds, and all sorts of Servants to mark, and delightfull for all Men to Reade.

Lege, Perlege, Relege.

The fift Impression, with new additions. Printed at London by Miles Flesher. 1640.

[1] Hazlitt's *Hand Book*, p. 241.

On the back of the title-page, after the table of contents, the eleven following 'secret villanies' are described, severally, as

"Cheating Law
Vincent's Law.
Curbing Law.
Lifting Law.
Sacking Law.
Bernard's Lawe.
The black Art.
Prigging Law.
High Law.
Frigging Law.
Five Iumpes at Leape-frog."

After a short description of the four ages of the world, there is an account of a feast, at which were present all kinds of vagabonds. Dekker was conveyed, by 'an old nimble-tong'd beldam, who seemed to haue the command of the place,' to an upper loft, 'where, vnseene, I might, through a wooden Latice that had prospect of the dining roome, both see and heare all that was to be done or spoken.'

'The whole assembly being thus gathered together, one, amongest the rest, who tooke vpon him a Seniority ouer the rest, charged euery man to answer to his name, to see if the Iury were full:—the Bill by which hee meant to call them beeing a double Iug of ale (that had the spirit of *Aquavitæ* in it, it smelt so strong), and that hee held in his hand. Another, standing by, with a toast, nutmeg, and ginger, ready to cry *Vous avez* as they were cald, and all that were in the roome hauing single pots by the eares, which, like Pistols, were charged to goe off so soone as euer they heard their names. This Ceremony beeing set abroach, an Oyes was made. But he that was Rector Chory (the Captain of the Tatterdemalions) spying one to march vnder his Colours, that had neuer before serued in those lowsie warres, paused awhile (after hee had taken his first draught, to tast the dexterity of the liquor), and then began, Iustice-like, to examine this yonger brother vpon interrogatories.'

This yonger brother is afterwards 'stalled to the rogue;' and the 'Rector Chory[1]' instructs him in his duties, and tells him the names and degrees of the fraternity of vagabonds. Then comes the feast, after which, 'one who tooke vpon him to be speaker to the whole house,' began, as was the custom of their meeting, 'to make an oration in praise of Beggery, and of those that professe the trade,' which done, all the company departed, leaving the 'old beldam' and Dekker the only occupants of the room.

'The spirit of her owne mault walkt in her brain-pan, so that, what with the sweetnes of gaines which shee had gotten by her Marchant

[1] Leader of the Choir, Captain of the Company.

Venturers, and what with the fumes of drinke, which set her tongue in going, I found her apt for talke; and, taking hold of this opportunity, after some intreaty to discouer to mee what these vpright men, rufflers and the rest were, with their seuerall qualities and manners of life, Thus shee began.'

And what she tells Dekker is taken, all of it, from Harman's book.

Afterwards come accounts of the five 'Laws' and five jumps at leap-frog mentioned on the back of the title-page, and which is quoted above, p. xv.

Lastly 'A short Discourse of Canting,' which is, entirely, taken from Harman, pages 84—87, below.

As I have said before, Dekker was shown up for his pilferings from Harman by Samuel Rowlands, who must, says Mr Collier in his Bibliographical Catalogue, have published his *Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell*, in or before 1609,—though no edition is known to us before 1610,—because Dekker in an address 'To my owne Nation' in his *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, which was published in 1609, refers to Rowlands as a 'Beadle of Bridewell.' 'You shall know him,' (says Dekker, speaking of a rival author, [that is, Samuel Rowlands] whom he calls 'a Vsurper') 'by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he weares) hee will bee taken for *a Beadle of Bridewell*.' That this 'Vsurper' was Rowlands, we know by the latter's saying in *Martin Mark-all*, leaf E, i back, 'although he (the Bel-man, that is, Dekker) is bold to call me an *vsurper;* for so he doth in his last round.'

Well, from this treatise of Rowlands', Mr Wood has made the following extracts relating to Dekker and Harman, together with Rowlands's own list of slang words not in Dekker or Harman, and 'the rest in his [Dekker's] words, and true englishing of the same.'

Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell; his defence and Answere to the Bellman of London, Discouering the long-concealed Originall and Regiment of Rogues, when they first began to take head, and how they haue succeeded vnto this, which successively ends the sixe and twentieth yeare of King James, gathered out of the Chronicle of Crackeropes, and (as it is reported) the Legend of Lawrie. By S[amuel] R[owlands].

Orderunt peccare boni virtutis amore,
Orderunt peccare mali formidine pœnæ.

London
Printed for Iohn Budge and Richard Bonian. 1610.

'Martin Mark-all, his Apologie to the Bel-man of London. There hath been of late dayes great paines taken on the part of the good old Bel-man of London, in discouering, as hee thinks, a new-found Nation and People. Let it be so for this time: hereupon much adoe was made in setting forth their liues, order of liuing, method of speech, and vsuall meetings, with diuers other things thereunto appertaining. These volumes and papers, now spread euerie where, so that euerie Iacke-boy now can say as well as the proudest of that fraternitie, "will you wapp for a wyn, or tranie for a make?" The gentle Company of Cursitours began now to stirre, and looke about them; and hauing gathered together a Conuocation of Canting Caterpillars, as wel in the North parts at the Diuels arse apeake,[1] as in the South, they diligently enquired, and straight search was made, whether any had reuolted from that faithles fellowship. Herupon euery one gaue his verdict: some supposed that it might be some one that, hauing ventured to farre beyond wit and good taking heede, was fallen into the hands of the Magistrate, and carried to the trayning Cheates, where, in shew of a penitent heart, and remoarse of his good time ill spent, turned the cocke, and let out all: others thought it might be some spie-knaue that, hauing little to doe, tooke vpon him the habite and forme of an Hermite; and so, by dayly commercing and discoursing, learned in time the mysterie and knowlege of this ignoble profession: and others, because it smelt of a study, deemed it to be some of their owne companie, that had been at some free-schoole, and belike, because hee would be handsome against a good time, tooke pen and inke, and wrote of that subiect; thus, *Tot homines, tot sententiæ*, so many men, so many mindes. And all because the spightfull Poet would not set too his name. At last vp starts an old Cacodemicall Academicke with his frize bonnet, and giues them al to know, that this invectiue was set foorth, made, and printed Fortie yeeres agoe. And being then called, 'A caueat for Cursitors,' is now newly printed, and termed, 'The Bel-man of London,' made at first by one Master Harman, a Iustice of Peace in Kent, in Queene Marie's daies,—he being then about ten yeeres of age.' Sign. A. 2.

'They (the vagabonds) haue a langnage among themselues, composed of *omnium gatherum;* a glimering whereof, one of late daies hath endeuoured to manifest, as farre as his Authour is pleased to be an in-

[1] Where at this day the Rogues of the North part, once euerie three yeeres, assemble in the night, because they will not be seene and espied; being a place, to those that know it, verie fit for that purpos,—it being hollow, and made spacious vnder ground; at first, by estimation, halfe a mile in compasse; but it hath such turnings and roundings in it, that a man may easily be lost if hee enter not with a guide.

best, is counted the best Musitian."—*Dekker's Lanthorne and Candle-light*, B. 4. back.

Specimen of "Canting rithmes."

"Enough—with bowsy Coue maund Nace,
Tour the Patring Coue in the Darkeman Case,
Docked the Dell, for a Coper meke
His wach shall feng a Prounces Nab-chete,
Cyarum, by Salmon, and thou shalt pek my Iere
In thy Gan, for my watch it is nace gere,
For the bene bowse my watch hath a win, &c."

Dekker's Lanthorne, &c., C. 1. back.

A specimen of "Canting prose," with translation, is given on the same page.

Dekker's dictionary of Canting, given in *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, is the same as that of Harman.

"A Canting Song.

The Ruffin cly the nab of the Harman beck,
If we mawn'd Pannam, lap or Ruff-peck,
Or poplars of yarum : he cuts, bing to the Ruffmans,
Or els he sweares by the light-mans,
To put our stamps in the Harmans,
The ruffian cly the ghost of the Harman beck
If we heaue a booth we cly the Ierke.
If we niggle, or mill a bowsing Ken
Or nip a boung that has but a win
Or dup the giger of a Gentry cofe's ken,
To the quier cuffing we bing,
And then to the quier Ken, to scowre the Cramp ring,
And then to the Trin'de on the chates, in the lightmans
The Bube *and* Ruffian cly the Harman beck *and* harmans.

Thus Englished.

The Diuell take the Constable's head,
If we beg Bacon, Butter-milke, or bread,
Or Pottage, to the hedge he bids vs hie
Or sweares (by this light) i' th' stocks we shall lie.
The Deuill haunt the Constable's ghoast
If we rob but a Booth, we are whip'd at a poast.
If an ale-house we rob, or be tane with a whore,
Or cut a purse that has inst a penny, and no more,
Or come but stealing in at a Gentleman's dore
To the Iustice straight we goe,
And then to the Iayle to be shakled : And so

To be hang'd on the gallowes i' th' day time: the pox
And the Deuill take the Constable and his stocks."

Ibid. C. 3. back.

Richard Head (says Mr Hotten), in his *English Rogue, described in the Life of Meriton Latroon, a Witty Extravagant*, 4 vols. 12mo., 1671-80, gave "a glossary of Cant words 'used by the Gipsies'; but it was only a reprint of what Decker had given sixty years before," and therefore merely taken from Harman too. 'The Bibliography of Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Language' has been given so fully at the end of Mr Hotten's Slang Dictionary, that I excuse myself from pursuing the subject farther. I only add here Mr Wood's extracts from four of the treatises on this subject not noticed by Mr Hotten in the 1864 edition of his Dictionary, but contained (with others) in a most curious volume in the British Museum, labelled *Practice of Robbers*,—Press Mark 518. h. 2.,—as also some of the slang words in these little books not given by Harman[1]:

1. *The Catterpillers of this Nation anatomized, in a brief yet notable Discovery of House-breakers, Pick-pockets, &c. Together with the Life of a penitent High-way-man, discovering the Mystery of that Infernal Society. To which is added, the Manner of Hectoring and trapanning, as it is acted in and about the City of London. London, Printed for M. H. at the Princes Armes, in Chancery-lane.* 1659.

Ken = miller, house-breaker
lowre, or mint = wealth or money
Gigers jacked = locked doors
Tilers, or Cloyers, equivalent to shoplifters
Joseph, a cloak
Bung-nibber, or Cutpurse = a pickpocket.

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2. *A Warning for Housekeepers; or, A discovery of all sorts of thieves and Robbers which go under these titles, viz.—The Gilter, the Mill, the Glasier, Budg and Snudg, File-lifter, Tongue-padder, The private Theif. With Directions how to prevent them, Also an exact description of every one of their Practices. Written by one who was a Prisoner in Newgate. Printed for T. Newton*, 1676.

Glasiers, thieves who enter houses, thro' windows, first remouing a pane of glass (p. 4).

[1] We quote from four out of the five tracts contained in the volume. The title of the tract we do not quote is '*Hanging not Punishment enough*,' etc., London, 1701.

The following is a Budg and Snudg song:—

"The Budge it is a delicate trade,
And a delicate trade of fame;
For when that we have bit the bloe,
We carry away the game:
But if the cully nap us,
And the lurres from us take,
O then they rub us to the whitt,
And it is hardly worth a make.
But when that we come to the whitt
Our Darbies to behold,
And for to take our penitency,
And boose the water cold.
But when that we come out agen,
As we walk along the street,
We bite the Culley of his cole,
But we are rubbed unto the whitt.
And when that we come to the whitt,
For garnish they do cry,
Mary, faugh, you son of a wh——
Ye shall have it by and by.
But when that we come to Tyburn,
For going upon the budge,
There stands Jack Catch, that son of a w——
That owes us all a grudge
And when that he hath noosed us
And our friends tips him no cole
O then he throws us in the cart
And tumbles us into the hole."—(pp. 5, 6.)

On the last page of this short tract (which consists of eight pages) we are promised:

"In the next Part you shall have a fuller description."

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3. *Street Robberies consider'd; The reason of their being so frequent, with probable means to prevent 'em: To which is added three short Treatises*—1. *A Warning for Travellers;* 2. *Observations on Housebreakers;* 3. *A Caveat for Shopkeepers. London, J. Roberts.* [no date] *Written by a converted Thief.*

Shepherd is mentioned in this book as being a clever prison breaker (p. 6). There is a long list of slang words in this tract. The following are only a few of them:

Abram, Naked
Betty, a Picklock
Bubble-Buff, Bailiff
Bube, Pox
Chive, a Knife
Clapper dudgeon, a beggar born
Collar the Cole, Lay hold on the money

Cull, a silly fellow
Dads, an old man
Darbies, Iron
Diddle, Geneva
Earnest, share
Elf, little
Fencer, receiver of stolen goods
Fib, to beat
Fog, smoke
Gage, Exciseman
Gilt, a Picklock
Grub, Provender
Hic, booby
Hog, a shilling
Hum, strong
Jem, Ring
Jet, Lawyer
Kick, Sixpence
Kin, a thief
Kit, Dancing-master
Lap, Spoon-meat
Latch, let in
Leake, Welshman
Leap, all safe
Mauks, a whore
Mill, to beat
Mish, a smock
Mundungus, sad stuff
Nan, a maid of the house
Nap, an arrest
Nimming, stealing
Oss Chives, Bone-handled knives
Otter, a sailor
Peter, Portmantua
Plant the Whids, take care what you say
Popps, Pistols
Rubbs, hard shifts
Rumbo Ken, Pawn-brokers
Rum Mort, fine Woman
Smable, taken
Smeer, a painter
Snafflers, Highwaymen
Snic, to cut
Tattle, watch
Tic, trust
Tip, give
Tit, a horse
Tom Pat, a parson
Tout, take heed
Tripe, the belly
Web, cloth
Wobble, to boil
Yam, to eat
Yelp, a crier
Yest, a day ago
Zad, crooked
Znees, Frost
Zouch, an ungenteel man
&c., a Bookseller

"The King of the Night, as the Constables please to term themselves, should be a little more active in their employment; but all their business is to get to a watch house and guzzle, till their time of going home comes." (p. 60.)

"A small bell to Window Shutters would be of admirable use to prevent Housebreakers." (p. 70.)

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4. *A true discovery of the Conduct of Receivers and Thief-Takers, in and about the City of London*, &c., &c. *London*, 1718.

This pamphlet is "design'd as preparatory to a larger Treatise, wherein shall be propos'd Methods to extirpate and suppress for the future such villanous Practices." It is by "Charles Hitchin, one of the Marshals of the City of London."

I now take leave of Harman, with a warm commendation of him to the reader.

The third piece in the present volume is a larky Sermon in praise of Thieves and Thievery, the title of which (p. 93, below) happened to catch my eye when I was turning over the Cotton Catalogue, and which was printed here, as well from its suiting the subject, as from a pleasant recollection of a gallop some 30 years ago in a four-horse coach across Harford-Bridge-Flat, where Parson Haben (or Hyberdyne), who is said to have preached the Sermon, was no doubt robbed. My respected friend Goody-goody declares the sermon to be 'dreadfully irreverent;' but one needn't mind him. An earlier copy than the Cotton one turned up among the Lansdowne MSS, and as it differed a good deal from the Cotton text, it has been printed opposite to that.

Of the fourth piece in this little volume, *The Groundworke of Conny-catching*, less its reprint from Harman, I have spoken above, at p. xiv. There was no good in printing the whole of it, as we should then have had Harman twice over.

The growth of the present Text was on this wise: Mr Viles suggested a reprint of Stace's reprint of Harman in 1573, after it had been read with the original, and collated with the earlier editions. The first edition I could not find, but ascertained, with some trouble, and through Mr H. C. Hazlitt, where the second and third editions were, and borrowed the 3rd of its ever-generous owner, Mr Henry Huth. Then Mr Hazlitt told me of Awdeley, which he thought was borrowed from Harman. However, Harman's own words soon settled that point; and Awdeley had to precede Harman. Then the real bagger from Harman, the *Groundworke*, had to be added, after the Parson's Sermon. Mr Viles read the proofs and revises of Harman with the original: Mr Wood and I have made the Index; and I, because Mr Viles is more desperately busy than myself, have written the Preface.

The extracts from Mr J. P. Collier must be taken for what they are worth. I have not had time to verify them; but assume them to be correct, and not ingeniously or unreasonably altered from their originals, like Mr Collier's print of Henslowe's Memorial, of which

Dr Ingleby complains,[1] and like his notorious Alleyn letter. If some one only would follow Mr Collier through all his work—pending his hoped-for Retractations,—and assure us that the two pieces above-named, and the Perkins Folio, are the only things we need reject, such some-one would render a great service to all literary antiquarians, and enable them to do justice to the wonderful diligence, knowledge, and acumen, of the veteran pioneer in their path. Certainly, in most of the small finds which we workers at this Text thought we had made, we afterwards found we had been anticipated by Mr Collier's *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, or *Bibliographical Catalogue*, and that the facts were there rightly stated.

[1] To obviate the possibility of mistake in the lection of this curious document, Mr E. W. Ashbee has, at my request, and by permission of the Governors of Dulwich College (where the paper is preserved), furnished me with an exact fac-simile of it, worked off on somewhat similar paper. By means of this fac-simile my readers may readily assure themselves that in no part of the memorial is Lodge called a "player;" indeed he is not called "Thos. Lodge," and it is only an inference, an unavoidable conclusion, that the Lodge here spoken of is Thomas Lodge, the dramatist. Mr Collier, however, professes to find that he is there called "Thos. Lodge," and that it [the Memorial] contains this remarkable grammatical inversion;

"and haveinge some knowledge and acquaintaunce of him as a player, requested me to be his baile,"

which is evidently intended to mean, *as I had some knowledge and acquaintance of Lodge as a player, he requested me to be his baile.* But in this place the original paper reads thus,

"and havinge of me some knowledge and acquaintaunce requested me to be his bayle,"

meaning, of course, *Lodge, having some knowledge and acquaintance of me, requested me to be his bail.*

The interpolation of the five words needed to corroborate Mr Collier's explanation of the misquoted passage from Gosson, and the omission of two other words inconsistent with that interpolation, may be thought to exhibit some little ingenuity; it was, however, a feat which could have cost him no great pains. But the labour of recasting the orthography of the memorial must have been considerable; while it is difficult to imagine a rational motive to account for such labour being incurred. To expand the abbreviations and modernize the orthography might have been expedient, as it would have been easy. But, in the name of reason, what is the gain of writing *wheare* and *theare* for "where" and "there;" *cleere, yeeld,* and *meerly* for "clere," "yealde," and "merely;" *verie, anie, laie, waie, paie, yssue,* and *pryvily,* for "very," "any," "lay," "way," "pay," "issue," and "privylie;" *sondrie, begon,* and *doen* for "sundrie," "began," and "don;" and *thintent, thaction,* and *thacceptaunce* for "the intent," "the action," and "the acceptaunce"?—p. 14 of Dr C. M. Ingleby's '*Was Thomas Lodge an Actor? An Exposition touching the Social Status of the Playwright in the time of Queen Elizabeth.*' Printed for the Author by R. Barrett and Sons, 13 Mark Lane, 1868. 2*s.* 6*d.*

That there is pure metal in Mr Collier's work, and a good deal of it, few will doubt; but the dross needs refining out. I hope that the first step in the process may be the printing of the whole of the Stationers' Registers from their start to 1700 at least, by the Camden Society,—within whose range this work well lies,—or by the new Harleian or some other Society. It ought not to be left to the 'Early English Text' to do some 20 years hence.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

29 *Nov.*, 1869.

P.S. For a curious Ballad describing beggars' tricks in the 17th century, say about 1650, see the Roxburghe Collection, i. 42-3, and the Ballad Society's reprint, now in the press for 1869, i. 137-41, '*The cunning Northerne Beggar*': 1. he shams lame; 2. he pretends to be a poor soldier; 3. a sailor; 4. cripple; 5. diseased; 6. festered all over, and face daubed with blood; 7. blind; 8. has had his house burnt.

NOTES.

p. vii. ix, p. 19, 20. *Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, and her parish.* The manor of Erith was granted to Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, by Henry VIII. in the 36th year of his reign, A.D. 1544-5. The Countess died in 1567, and was buried in the parish church of Erith. "The manor of Eryth becoming part of the royal revenue, continued in the crown till K. Henry VIII. in his 36th year, granted it in fee to Elizabeth, relict of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, by the description of the *manor, of Eryth, alias Lymes*, with all its members and appurts., and also all that wood, called Somersden, lying in Eryth, containing 30 acres; and a wood, called Ludwood, there, containing 50 acres; and a wood, called Fridayes-hole, by estimation, 20 acres, to hold of the King *in capite* by knight's service.[1] She was the second wife of George, Earl of Shrews-

[1] Rot. Esch. ejus an, pt. 6.

bury, Knight of the Garter,[1] who died July 26, anno 33 K. Henry VIII.,[2] by whom she had issue one son, John, who died young; and Anne, married to Peter Compton, son and heir of Sir Wm. Compton, Knt., who died in the 35th year of K. Henry VIII., under age, as will be mentioned hereafter. Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, in Easter Term, in the 4th year of Q. Elizabeth, levied a fine of this manor, with the passage over the Thames; and dying in the tenth year of that reign, anno 1567,[3] lies buried under a sumptuous tomb, in this church. Before her death this manor, &c., seem to have been settled on her only daughter Anne, then wife of Wm. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and widow of Peter Compton, as before related, who was in possession of it, with the passage over the Thames, anno 9 Q. Elizabeth."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 196.

p. ix. In Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* (edit. 1826), p. 66, he mentions "Thomas Harman" as being one of the "Kentish writers."

Lambarde, in the same volume, p. 60, also mentions "Abacuk Harman" as being the name of one "of suche of the nobilitie and gentrie, as the Heralds recorded in their visitation in 1574."

There is nothing about Harman in Mr Sandys's book on Gavelkind, &c., *Consuetudines Cantiæ*. To future inquirers perhaps the following book may be of use:

"*Bibliotheça Cantiana:* A Bibliographical Account of what has been published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, and Family History of the County of Kent." By John Russell Smith.

p. 1, 12. *The xxv. Orders of Knaues.*—Mr Collier gives an entry in the Stationers' Registers in 1585-6: "Edward White. Rd. of him, for printinge xxij^{ti} ballades at iiij^{d} a peece—vij^{s} iiij^{d}, and xiiij. more at ij^{d} a peece ij^{s} iiij^{d} . . . . . ix^{s} viij^{d}" And No. 23 is "The xxv^{tie} orders of knaves."—*Stat. Reg.* ii. 207.

p. 22. *The last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded.*—Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, one of Henry VIII's and Wolsey's victims, was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 17, 1521, for 'imagining' the king's death. ('The murnynge of Edward Duke of Buckyngham' was one of certain 'ballettes' licensed to Mr John Wallye and Mrs Toye in 1557-8, says Mr J. P. Collier, *Stat. Reg.* i. 4.) His father (Henry Stafford) before him suffered the same fate in 1483, having been betrayed by his servant Bannister after his unsuccessful rising in Brecon.—*Percy Folio Ballads*, ii. 253.

[1] This lady was one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Richard Walden, of this parish, Knt., and the Lady Margaret his wife, who both lie buried in this church [of Erith]. He was, as I take it, made Knight of the Bath in the 17th year of K. Henry VII., his estate being then certified to be 40*l.* per annum, being the son of Richard Walden, esq. Sir Richard and Elizabeth his wife both lie buried here. *MSS. Dering.*

[2] Dugd. Bar. vol. i. p. 332.

[3] Harman's dedication of his book to her was no doubt written in 1566, and his 2nd edition, in both states, published before the Countess's death.

p. 23. *Egiptians.* The Statute 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10 is *An Acte concernyng Egypsyans.* After enumerating the frauds committed by the "outlandysshe people callynge themselfes Egyptians," the first section provides that they shall be punished by Imprisonment and loss of goods, and be deprived of the benefit of 8 Hen. VI. c. 29. "de medietate linguæ." The second section is a proclamation for the departure from the realm of all such Egyptians. The third provides that stolen goods shall be restored to their owners; and the fourth, that one moiety of the goods seized from the Egyptians shall be given to the seizer.

p. 48, l. 5. *The Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed.* Charles Stourton, 7th Baron, 1548—1557:—"Which Charles, with the help of four of his own servants in his own house, committed a shameful murther upon one Hargill, and his son, with whom he had been long at variance, and buried their Carcasses 50 foot deep in the earth, thinking thereby to prevent the discovery; but it coming afterwards to light, he had sentence of death passed upon him, which he suffer'd at Salisbury, the 6th of March, Anno 1557, 4 Phil. & Mary, by an Halter of Silk, in respect of his quality."—*The Peerage of England*, vol. ii. p. 24 (Lond., 1710).

p. 77. *Saint Quinten's.* Saint Quinten was invoked against coughs, says Brand, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 196.

p. 77. *The Three Cranes in the Vintry.* "Then the Three Cranes' lane, so called, not only of *a sign of three cranes at a tavern door*, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the Vintry wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there, as is afore showed. This lane was of old time, to wit, the 9th of Richard II., called The Painted Tavern lane, of the tavern being painted."—Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. by Thoms, p. 90.

"The Three Cranes was formerly a favourite London sign. With the usual jocularity of our forefathers, an opportunity for punning could not be passed; so, instead of the three cranes, which in the vintry used to lift the barrels of wine, three birds were represented. The Three Cranes in Thames Street, or in the vicinity, was a famous tavern as early as the reign of James I. It was one of the taverns frequented by the wits in Ben Jonson's time. In one of his plays he says:—

'A pox o' these pretenders! to wit, your *Three Cranes*, Mitre and Mermaid men! not a corn of true salt, not a grain of right mustard among them all!' *Bartholomew Fair*, act i. sc. 1.

"On the 23rd of January, 166⅓ Pepys suffered a strong mortification of the flesh in having to dine at this tavern with some poor relations. The sufferings of the snobbish secretary must have been intense:—

'By invitation to my uncle Fenner's, and where I found his new wife, a *putrid, old, ugly, ill-bred* woman in a hatt, a mid-wife. Here were many of his, and as many of her, relations, *sorry, mean people;* and after chousing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Cranes Taverne;

and though the best room of the house, in such a narrow dogghole we were crammed, and I believe we were near 40, that it made me loath my company and victuals, and a very poor dinner it was too.'

"Opposite this tavern people generally left their boats to shoot the bridge, walking round to Billingsgate, where they would reenter them." —Hotten's *History of Signboards*, p. 204.

p. 77. *Saynt Iulyans in Thystellworth parish.* 'Thistleworth, see Isleworth,' says Walker's Gazetteer, ed. 1801. That there might well have been a St Julyan's Inn there we learn from the following extract:

"St. Julian, the patron of travellers, wandering minstrels, boatmen,[1] &c., was a very common inn sign, because he was supposed to provide good lodgings for such persons. Hence two St Julian's crosses, in saltier, are in chief of the innholders' arms, and the old motto was:— 'When I was harbourless, ye lodged me.' This benevolent attention to travellers procured him the epithet of 'the good herbergeor,' and in France '*bon herbet.*' His legend in a MS., Bodleian, 1596, fol. 4, alludes to this:—

'Therfore yet to this day, thei that over lond wende,
They biddeth Seint Julian, anon, that gode herborw he hem sende;
And Seint Julianes Pater Noster ofte seggeth also
For his faders soule, and his moderes, that he hem bring therto.'

And in '*Le dit des Heureux*,' an old French fabliau:—

'Tu as dit la patenotre
Saint Julian à cest matin,
Soit en Roumans, soit en Latin;
Or tu seras bien ostilé.'

In mediæval French, *L'hotel Saint Julien* was synonymous with good cheer.

'—— Sommes tuit vostre.
Par Saint Pierre le bon Apostre,
L'ostel aurez Saint Julien,'

says Mabile to her feigned uncle in the fabliau of '*Boivin de Provins;*' and a similar idea appears in 'Cocke Lorell's bote,' where the crew, after the entertainment with the 'relygyous women' from the Stews' Bank, at Colman's Hatch,

'Blessyd theyr shyppe when they had done,
And dranke about a *Saint Julyan's* tonne.'
Hotten's *History of Signboards*," p. 283.

"Isleworth in Queen Elizabeth's time was commonly in conversation,

[1] Of pilgrims, and of whoremongers, say Brand and Sir H. Ellis (referring to the *Hist. des Troubadours*, tom. i. p. 11,) in *Brand's Antiquities*, ed. 1841, i. 202. Chaucer makes him the patron of hospitality, saying of the Franklyn, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, "Seynt Iulian he was in his contre." Mr Hazlitt, in his new edition of Brand, i. 303, notes that as early as the *Ancren Riwle*, ab. 1220 A.D., we have 'Surely they (the pilgrims) find St. Julian's inn, which wayfaring men diligently seek.'

and sometimes in records, called Thistleworth."—Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. iii. p. 79.

p. 77. *Rothered:* ? Rotherhithe.

p. 77. *The Kynges Barne*, betwene Detforde and Rothered, can hardly be the great hall of Eltham palace. Lysons (*Environs of London*, iv. p. 399) in 1796, says the hall was then used as a barn; and in vol. vi. of the *Archæologia*, p. 367, it is called "King John's Barn."

p. 77. *Ketbroke.* Kidbrooke is marked in large letters on the east of Blackheath on the mordern Ordnance-map; and on the road from Blackheath to Eltham are the villages or hamlets of Upper Kidbrooke and Lower Kidbrooke.

"Kedbrooke lies adjoining to Charlton, on the south side of the London Road, a small distance from Blackheath. It was antiently written Cicebroc, and was once a parish of itself, though now (1778 A.D.) it is esteemed as an appendage to that of Charlton."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 40.

p. 100. *Sturbridge Fair.* Stourbridge, or Sturbich, the name of a common field, extending between Chesterton and Cambridge, near the little brook Sture, for about half a mile square, is noted for its fair, which is kept annually on September 19th, and continues a fortnight. It is surpassed by few fairs in Great Britain, or even in Europe, for traffic, though of late it is much lessened. The booths are placed in rows like streets, by the name[s] of which they are called, as Cheapside, &c., and are filled with all sorts of trades. The Duddery, an area of 80 or 100 yards square, resembles Blackwell Hall. Large commissions are negotiated here for all parts of England in *cheese*, woolen goods, wool, leather, hops, upholsterers' and ironmongers' ware, &c. &c. Sometimes 50 hackney coaches from London, ply morning and night, to and from Cambridge, as well as all the towns round, and the very barns and stables are turned into inns for the accommodation of the poorer people. After the wholesale business is over, the country gentry generally flock in, laying out their money in stage-plays, taverns, music-houses, toys, puppet-shows, &c., and the whole concludes with a day for the sale of horses. This fair is under the jurisdiction of the University of Cambridge.—*Walker's Gazetteer*, ed. 1801. See Index to Brand's *Antiquities*.

THE

Fraternitye of Vacabondes.

As wel of ruflyng Vacabondes, as of beggerly, of women as of men, of Gyrles as of Boyes,

with

their proper names and qualities.

With a description of the crafty company of

Cousoners and Shifters.

¶ Wherunto also is adioyned

the .xrb. Orders of Knaues,

otherwyse called

a Quartern of Knaues.

Confirmed for euer by Cocke Lorell.

(*)

¶ The Vprightman speaketh.

¶ Our Brotherhood[1] of Vacabondes,
If you would know where dwell:
In graues end Barge which syldome standes,
The talke wyll shew ryght well.

¶ Cocke Lorell aunswereth.

¶ Some orders of my Knaues also
In that Barge shall ye fynde:
For no where shall ye walke I trow,
But ye shall see their kynde.

¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Awdeley, dwellyng in little Britayne streete without Aldersgate.
1575.

[1] *Orig.* Brothethood.

[leaf 1 b.]

¶ *The Printer to the Reader.*

THis brotherhood of Vacabondes,
To shew that there be such in deede:
Both Iustices and men of Landes,
Wyll testifye it if it neede.
For at a Sessions as they sat,
By chaunce a Vacabond was got.

¶ Who promysde if they would him spare,
And keepe his name from knowledge then:
He would as straunge a thing declare,
As euer they knew synce they were men.
But if my fellowes do know (sayd he)
That thus I dyd, they would kyll me.

¶ They graunting him this his request,
He dyd declare as here is read,
Both names and states of most and least,
Of this their Vacabondes brotherhood.
Which at the request of a worshipful man
I haue set it forth as well as I can.

FINIS.

[leaf 2] ¶ *The*

Fraternitye of Vacabondes

both rufling and beggerly,

Men and women, Boyes and Gyrles,

wyth

their proper names and qualities.

Whereunto are adioyned

the company of Cousoners and Shifters.

¶ AN ABRAHAM MAN.

AN Abraham man is he that walketh bare armed, and bare legged, and fayneth hym selfe mad, and caryeth a packe of wool, or a stycke with baken on it, or such lyke toy, and nameth himselfe poore Tom.

¶ A RUFFELER.

A Ruffeler goeth wyth a weapon to seeke seruice, saying he hath bene a Seruitor in the wars, and beggeth for his reliefe. But his chiefest trade is to robbe poore wayfaring men and market women.

¶ A PRYGMAN.

A Prygman goeth with a stycke in hys hand like an idle person. His propertye is to steale cloathes of the hedge, which they call storing of the Rogeman: or els filtch Poultry, carying them to the Alehouse, whych they call the Bowsyng In, & ther syt playing at cardes and dice, tyl that is spent which they haue so fylched.

¶ A WHIPIACKE.

A Whypiacke is one, that by coulor of a counterfaite Lisence (which they call a Gybe, and the seales they cal Iarckes) doth vse to beg lyke a Maryner, But hys chiefest trade is to rob Bowthes in a Faire, or to pilfer ware from staules, which they cal heauing of the Bowth.

¶ A FRATER.

A Frater goeth wyth a like Lisence to beg for some Spittlehouse or Hospital. Their pray is commonly vpon [leaf 2 b.] poore women as they go and come to the Markets.

¶ A QUIRE BIRD.

A Quire bird is one that came lately out of prison, & goeth to seeke seruice. He is commonly a stealer of Horses, which they terme a Priggar of Paulfreys.

¶ AN VPRIGHT MAN.

An Vpright man is one that goeth wyth the trunchion of a staffe, which staffe they cal a Filtchman. This man is of so much authority, that meeting with any of his profession, he may cal them to accompt, & commaund a share or snap vnto him selfe, of al that they haue gained by their trade in one moneth. And if he doo them wrong, they haue no remedy agaynst hym, no though he beate them, as he vseth commonly to do. He may also commaund any of their women, which they cal Doxies, to serue his turne. He hath ye chiefe place at any market walke, & other assembles, & is not of any to be controled.

¶ A CURTALL.

A Curtall is much like to the Vpright man, but hys authority is not fully so great. He vseth commonly to go with a short cloke, like to grey Friers, & his woman with him in like liuery, which he calleth his Altham if she be hys wyfe, & if she be his harlot, she is called hys Doxy.

¶ A PALLIARD.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.

¶ AN IRISHE TOYLE.

An Irishe toyle is he that carieth his ware in hys wallet, as laces, pins, poyntes, and such like. He vseth to shew no wares vntill he haue his almes. And if the good man and wyfe be not in the way, he procureth of the ch[i]lldre*n* or seruants a fleece of wool, or the worth of xij.d. of some other thing, for a peniworth of his wares.

[leaf 3.] ¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and somtime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Seales, in their language called Iarkes.

¶ A SWYGMAN.

A Swygman goeth with a Pedlers pack.

¶ A WASHMAN.

A Washman is called a Palliard, but not of the right making. He vseth to lye in the hye way with lame or sore legs or armes to beg. These me*n* ye right Pilliards wil often times spoile, but they dare not co*m*playn. They be bitten with Spickworts, & somtime with rats bane.

¶ A TINKARD.

A Tinkard leaueth his bag a sweating at the Alehouse, which they terme their Bowsing In, and in the meane season goeth abrode a begging.

¶ A WYLDE ROGE.

A wilde Roge is he that hath no abiding place but by his coulour of going abrode to beg, is commonly to seeke some kinsman of his, and all that be of hys corporation be properly called Roges.

¶ A KITCHEN CO.

A Kitchin Co is called an ydle runagate Boy.

¶ A KITCHEN MORTES.

A Kitchin Mortes is a Gyrle, she is brought at her full age to the Vpryght man to be broken, and so she is called a Doxy, vntil she come to ye honor of an Altham.

¶ DOXIES.

Note especially all which go abroade working laces and shirt stringes, they name them Doxies.

¶ A PATRIARKE CO.

A Patriarke Co doth make mariages, & that is vntill [leaf 3 b.] death depart the maried folke, which is after this sort: When they come to a dead Horse or any dead Catell, then they shake hands and so depart euery one of them a seuerall way

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¶ THE COMPANY OF COUSONERS AND SHIFTERS.

¶ A CURTESY MAN.

A Curtesy man is one that walketh about the back lanes in London in the day time, and sometime in the broade streetes in the night season, and when he meeteth some handsome yong man clenly apareled, or some other honest Citizen, he maketh humble salutations and low curtesy, and sheweth him that he hath a worde or two to speake with his mastership. This child can behaue him selfe manerly, for he wyll desire him that he talketh withall, to take the vpper hand, and shew him much reuerence, and at last like his familier acquaintaunce will put on his cap, and walke syde by syde, and talke on this fashion: Oh syr, you seeme to be a man, and one that fauoureth men, and therefore I am the more bolder to breake my mind vnto your good maistership. Thus it is syr, ther is a certaine of vs (though I say it both taule and handsome men of theyr hands) which haue come lately from the wars, and as God knoweth haue nothing to take to, being both maisterles and moniles, & knowing no way wherby to yerne one peny. And further, wher as we haue bene welthely brought vp, and we also haue beene had in good estimation, we are a shamed now to declare our misery, and to fall a crauing as common Beggers, and as for to steale and robbe, (God is our record) it striketh vs to [leaf 4] the hart, to thinke of such a mischiefe, that euer any handsome man should fall into such a

daunger for thys worldly trash. Which if we had to suffise our want and necessity, we should neuer seeke thus shamefastly to craue on such good pityfull men as you seeme to be, neither yet so daungerously to hasarde our liues for so vyle a thing. Therefore good syr, as you seeme to be a handsome man your selfe, and also such a one as pitieth the miserable case of handsome men, as now your eyes and countenaunce sheweth to haue some pity vppon this my miserable complainte: So in Gods cause I require your maistershyp, & in the behalfe of my poore afflicted fellowes, which though here in sight they cry not with me to you, yet wheresouer they bee, I am sure they cry vnto God to moue the heartes of some good men to shew forth their liberality in this behalfe. All which & I with them craue now the same request at your good masterships hand. With these or such like words he frameth his talke. Now if the party (which he thus talketh withall) profereth hym a peny or .ii.d. he taketh it, but verye scornfully, and at last speaketh on this sorte: Well syr, your good will is not to be refused. But yet you shall vnderstand (good syr) that this is nothing for them, for whom I do thus shamefastly entreate. Alas syr, it is not a groate or .xii.d. I speake for, being such a company of Seruiters as wee haue bene: yet neuertheles God forbid I should not receiue your gentle offer at this time, hoping hereafter through your good motions to some such lyke good gentleman as you be, that I, or some of my fellowes in my place, shall finde the more liberality. These kind of ydle Vacabondes wyll go commonly well appareled, without [leaf 4 b.] any weapon, and in place where they meete together, as at their hosteryes or other places, they wyll beare the port of ryght good gentlemen, & some are the more trusted, but commonly thei pay them with stealing a paire of sheetes, or Couerlet, & so take their farewell earely in the morning, before the mayster or dame be sturring.

¶ A CHEATOUR OR FINGERER.

These commonly be such kinde of idle Vacabondes as scarcely a man shall discerne, they go so gorgeously, sometime with waiting men, and sometime without. Their trade is to walke in such places, where as gentelmen & other worshipfull Citizens do resorte, as at

Poules, or at Christes Hospital, & somtime at ye Royal exchaunge. These haue very many acquaintaunces, yea, and for the most part will acquaint them selues with euery man, and fayne a society, in one place or other. But chiefly they wil seeke their acquaintaunce of such (which they haue learned by diligent enquiring where they resort) as haue receyued some porcioun of money of their friends, as yong Gentlemen which are sent to London to study the lawes, or els some yong Marchant man or other kynde of Occupier, whose friendes hath geuen them a stock of mony[1] to occupy withall. When they haue thus found out such a pray, they will find the meanes by theyr familiarity, as very curteously to bid him to breakefast at one place or other, where they are best acquainted, and closely amonge themselues wil appoint one of their Fraternity, which they call a Fyngerer, an olde beaten childe, not onely in such deceites, but also such a one as by his age is painted out with gray heares, wrinkled face, crooked back, and most commonly lame, as it might seeme with age, [leaf 5] yea and such a one as to shew a simplicity, shal weare a homely cloke and hat scarce worth .vi. d. This nimble fingred knight (being appointed to this place) commeth in as one not knowen of these Cheatours, but as vnwares shal sit down at the end of the bord where they syt, & call for his peny pot of wine, or a pinte of Ale, as the place seruetb. Thus sitting as it were alone, mumblyng on a crust, or some such thing, these other yonckers wil finde some kind of mery talke with him, some times questioning wher he dwelleth, & sometimes enquiring what trade he vseth, which commonly he telleth them he vseth husbandry: & talking thus merely, at last they aske him, how sayest thou, Father, wylt thou play for thy breakfast with one of vs, that we may haue some pastime as we syt? Thys olde Karle makyng it straunge at the first saith: My maysters, ich am an old man, and halfe blinde, and can skyl of very few games, yet for that you seeme to be such good Gentelmen, as to profer to play for that of which you had no part, but onely I my selfe, and therefore of right ich am worthy to pay for it, I shal with al my hart fulfyl your request. And so falleth to play, somtime at Cardes, & sometime at dice. Which through his counterfait simplicity

[1] *Orig.* mony

in the play somtimes ouer counteth himself, or playeth somtimes against his wyl, so as he would not, & then counterfaiteth to be angry, and falleth to swearing, & so leesing that, profereth to play for a shillyng or two. The other therat hauing good sport, seming to mocke him, falleth againe to play, and so by their legerdemane, & counterfaiting, winneth ech of them a shilling or twain, & at last whispereth the yong man in the eare to play with hym also, that ech one might haue a fling at him. [leaf 5 b.] This yong man for company falleth againe to play also with the sayd Fyngerer, and winneth as the other did which when he had loste a noble or .vi. s. maketh as though he had lost al his mony, and falleth a intreating for parte thereof againe to bring him home, which the other knowing his mind and intent, stoutely denieth and iesteth, & scoffeth at him. This Fingerer seeming then to be in a rage, desireth them as they are true gentlemen, to tarry till he fetcheth more store of money, or els to point some place where they may meete. They seeming greedy hereof, promiseth faithfully and clappeth handes so to meete. They thus ticklyng the young man in the eare, willeth him to make as much money as he can, and they wil make as much as they can, and consent as though they wil play booty against him. But in the ende they so vse the matter, that both the young man leeseth his part, and, as it seemeth to him, they leesing theirs also, and so maketh as though they would fal together by the eares with this fingerer, which by one wyle or other at last conueyeth him selfe away, & they as it were raging lyke mad bedlams, one runneth one way, an other an other way, leauing the loser indeede all alone. Thus these Cheatours at their accustomed hosteries meete closely together, and there receiue ech one his part of this their vile spoyle. Of this fraternity there be that be called helpers, which commonly haunt tauernes or alehouses, and commeth in as men not acquainted with none in the companye, but spying them at any game, wil byd them God spede and God be at their game, and will so place him selfe that he will shew his fellow by sygnes and tokens, without speech commonly, but sometime with far fetched [leaf 6] wordes, what cardes he hath in his hand, and how he may play against him. And those betwene them both getteth money out of the others purse.

what is his name, & telleth him that he semeth to be an honest man, and therfore he wil do somwhat for friendships sake, hoping to haue as friendly a pleasure at his hand hereafter, and so profereth hym for .x. s. more he should haue the ryng. At last, with entreatye on both partes, he geueth the Ring faller the money, and so departeth, thinkyng he hath gotten a very great Iewell. These kynde of deceyuing Vacabondes haue other practises with their rings, as somtimes to come to buy wares of mens Prentesies, and somtimes of their Maisters, and when he hath agreed of the price, he sayth he hath not so much money about him, but pulleth of one of these rings of from his fyngers, and profereth to leaue it in pawne, tyl his Maister or his friendes hath sene it, so promising to bring the money, the seller thinking he meaneth truly, letteth him go, and neuer seeth him after, tyll perhaps at Tyburne or at such lyke place. Ther is another kinde of [leaf 7] these Ring choppers, which commonly cary about them a faire gold ring in deede, and these haue other counterfait rings made so lyke this gold ring, as ye shal not perceiue the contrary, tyl it be brought to ye touchstone. This child wyl come to borow mony of the right gold ring, the party mistrusting the Ring not to be good, goeth to the Goldsmith with the partye that hath the ryng, and tryeth it whether it be good golde, and also wayeth it to know how much it is worth. The Goldsmith tryeth it to be good gold, and also to haue hys ful weight like gold, and warenteth the party which shall lend the money that the ring is worth so much money according to the waight, this yoncker comming home with the party which shall lend the money, and hauing the gold ring againe, putteth vp the gold ring, and pulleth out a counterfaite ring very like the same, & so deliuereth it to the party which lendeth the money, they thinking it to be the same which they tryed, and so deliuereth the money or sometimes wares, and thus vily be deceiued.

¶ *THE*

.XXV. Orders of Knaues,

otherwise called

a quarterne of Knaues,

confirmed for euer by Cocke Lorell.

---

1 TROLL AND TROLL BY.

TRoll and Trol by, is he that setteth naught by no man, nor no man by him. This is he that would beare rule in a place, and hath none authority nor thanke, & at last is thrust out of the doore like a knaue.

2 TROLL WITH.

Troll with is he *that* no man shall know the seruaunt from ye Maister. This knaue with his cap on his head [leaf 7b.] lyke Capon hardy, wyll syt downe by his Maister, or els go cheeke by cheeke with him in the streete.

3 TROLL HAZARD OF TRACE.

Troll hazard of trace is he that goeth behynde his Maister as far as he may see hym. Such knaues commonly vse to buy Spice-cakes, Apples, or other trifles, and doo eate them as they go in the streetes lyke vacabond Boyes.

4 TROLL HAZARD OF TRITRACE.

Troll hazard of tritrace, is he that goeth gaping after his Master, looking to and fro tyl he haue lost him. This knaue goeth gasyng about lyke a foole at euery toy, and then seeketh in euery house lyke a Maisterles dog, and when his Maister nedeth him, he is to seeke.

5 CHAFE LITTER.

Chafe Litter is he that wyll plucke vp the Fether-bed or Matrice, and pysse in the bedstraw, and wyl neuer ryse vncalled. This knaue berayeth many tymes in the corners of his Maisters chamber, or other places inconuenient, and maketh cleane hys shooes with the couerlet or curtaines.

6 OBLOQUIUM.

Obloquium is hee that wyll take a tale out of his Maisters mouth and tell it him selfe. He of right may be called a malapart knaue.

7 RINCE PYTCHER.

Rince Pytcher is he that will drinke out his thrift at the ale or wine, and be oft times dronke. This is a licoryce knaue that will swill his Maisters drink, and brybe his meate that is kept for him.

8 JEFFREY GODS FO.

Jeffery Gods Fo is he, that wil sweare & maintaine [leaf 8] othes. This is such a lying knaue that none wil beleue him, for the more he sweareth, *ye* les he is to be beleued.

9 NICHOL HARTLES.

Nichol Hartles is he, that when he should do ought for his Maister hys hart faileth him. This is a Trewand knaue that faineth himselfe sicke when he should woorke.

10 SIMON SOONE AGON.

Simon soone agon is he, that when his Mayster hath any thing to do, he wil hide him out of the way. This is a loytring knaue that wil hide him in a corner and sleepe or els run away.

11 GRENE WINCHARD.

Greene Winchard is he, that when his hose is broken and hange out at his shoes, he will put them into his shooes againe with a stick, but he wyll not amend them. This is a slouthfull knaue, that had leauer go lyke a begger then cleanly.

12 PROCTOUR.

Proctour is he, that will tary long, and bring a lye, when his Maister sendeth him on his errand. This is a stibber gibber Knaue, that doth fayne tales.

13 COMMITOUR OF TIDINGES.

Committour of Tidings is he, that is ready to bring his Maister Nouels and tidinges, whether they be true or false. This is a tale bearer knaue, that wyll report words spoken in his Maisters presence.

14 GYLE HATHER

Gyle Hather is he, that wyll stand by his Maister when he is at dinner, and byd him beware that he eate no raw meate, because he would eate it himselfe. This is a pickthanke knaue, that would make his Maister [illegible] beleue that the Cowe is woode.

15 BAWDE PHISICKE.

Bawde Phisicke, is he that is a Cocke, when his Maysters meate is euyll dressed, and he challenging him therefore, he wyl say he wyll eate the rawest morsel thereof him selfe. This is a sausye knaue, that wyl contrary his Mayster alway.

16 MOUNCH PRESENT.

Mounch present is he that is a great gentleman, for when his Mayster sendeth him with a present, he wil take a tast thereof by the waye. This is a bold knaue, that sometyme will eate the best and leaue the worst for his Mayster.

17 COLE PROPHET.

Cole Prophet is he, that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand, he wyl tel his answer therof to his Maister or he depart from hym. This tittiuell knaue commonly maketh the worst of the best betwene hys Maister and his friende.

18 CORY FAUELL.

Cory fauell is he, that wyl lye in his bed, and cory the bed bordes in which hee lyeth in steede of his horse. This slouthfull knaue wyll buskill and scratch when he is called in the morning, for any hast.

19 DYNG THRIFT.

Dyng thrift is he, that wil make his Maisters horse eate pies and rybs of beefe, and drinke ale and wyne. Such false knaues oft tymes, wil sell their Maisters meate to their owne profit.

20 ESEN DROPPERS.

Esen Droppers bene they, that stand vnder mens wales or windowes, or in any other place, to heare the [leaf 9] secretes of a mans house. These misdeming knaues wyl stand in corners to heare if they be euill spoken of, or waite a shrewd turne.

21 CHOPLOGYKE.

Choplogyke, is he that when his mayster rebuketh him of hys fault he wyll geue hym .xx. wordes for one, els byd the deuils Pater noster in silence. This proude prating knaue wyll maintaine his naughtines when he is rebuked for them.

22 VNTHRIFTE.

Vnthrift, is he that wil not put his wearing clothes to washing, nor black his owne shoes, nor amend his his (*sic*) own wearing clothes. This rechles knaue wyl alway be lousy : and say that hee hath no more shift of clothes, and slaunder his Maister.

23 VNGRACIOUS.

Vngracious, is he *that* by his own will, will heare no maner of seruice, without he be compelled therunto by his rulers. This Knaue

wil sit at the alehouse drinking or playing at dice, or at other games at seruices tyme.

24 NUNQUAM.

Nunquam, is he that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand he wil not come againe of an hour or two where he might hane done it in halfe an houre or lesse. This knaue will go about his owne arrand or pastime and saith he cannot speede at the first.

25 INGRATUS.

Ingratus, is he that when one doth all that he can for him, he will scant gene him a good report for his labour. This knaue is so ingrate or vnkind, *that* he considreth not his frend from his fo, & wil requit euil for good & being put most in trust, wil sonest deceiue his maister.

FINIS.

[last vb.] Imprinted at London by
Iohn Awdely dwelling
in little Britaine streete
without Aldersgate.

(. ˙ .)

[Original in Bodleian Library, 4°. R. 21. Art. Seld.]

A Caueat or Warening,

FOR COMMEN CVRSE-

TORS VVLGARELY CALLED

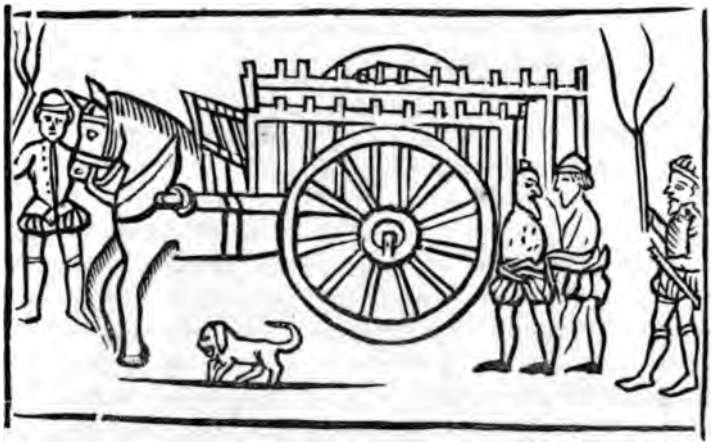
Vagabones, set forth by Thomas Harman,

Esquiere, for the vtilite and proffyt of his naturall

Cuntrey. Augmented and inlarged by the fyrst author here of.

Anno Domini. M.D.LXVII.

¶ *Vewed, examined, and allowed, according vnto the Queenes Maiestyes Iniunctions.*



¶ Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Falcon, by *Wylliam Gryffith*, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Saynt Dunstones Churche yarde, in the West.
Anno Domini. 1567.

[The Bodley edition of 1567 omits 'or Warening' in line 1, and 'Anno Domini. 1567.' at foot; and substitutes 'Newly Augmented and Imprinted' for 'Augmented . . . here of', line 6.]

[leaf 2]

¶ To the ryght honorable and my singular good Lady, Elizabeth Countes of Shrewsbury, Thomas Harman wisheth all ioye and perfite felicitie, here and in the worlde to come.

AS of Auncient and longe tyme there hath bene, and is now at this present, many good, godly, profitable lawes and actes made and setforthe in this most noble and floryshynge realme, for the reliefe, succour, comforte, and sustentacion of the poore, nedy, impotent, and myserable creatures beinge and inhabiting in all parts of the same; So is there (ryghte honorable and myne especyall good Lady) most holsom estatutes, ordinances, and necessary lawes, made, setforth, and publisshed, for the extreme punishement of all vagarantes and sturdy vacabons, as passeth throughe and by all parts of this famous yle, most idelly and wyckedly: and I wel, by good experience, vnderstandinge and consideringe your most tender, pytyfull, gentle, and noble nature,—not onelye hauinge a vygelant and mercifull eye to your poore, indygente, and feable parishnores; yea, not onely in the parishe where your honour moste happely doth dwell, but also in others inuyroninge or nighe adioyning to the same; As also aboundantly powringe out dayely your ardent and bountifull charytie vppon all such as commeth for reliefe vnto your luckly gates,—

I thought it good, necessary, and my bounden dutye, to acquaynte your goodnes with the abhominable, wycked, and detestable behauor of all these rowsey, ragged rabblement of rakehelles, that—vnder the pretence of great misery, dyseases, and other innumerable calamites

whiche they fayne—through great hipocrisie do wyn and gayne great almes in all places where they wyly wander, to the vtter deludinge of the good geuers, deceauinge and impouerishing of all such poore housholders, both sicke and sore, as nether can or maye walke abroad for reliefe and comforte (where, in dede, most mercy is to be shewed). And for that I (most honorable Lady), beinge placed as a poore gentleman, haue kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre, not without some reliefe, as my poore callinge and habylytie maye and doth extende: I haue of late yeares gathered a great suspition that all should not be well, and, as the prouerbe saythe, "sume thinge lurke and laye hyd that dyd not playnely apeare;" for I, hauinge more occation, throughe sickenes, to tary and remayne at home then I haue bene acustomed, do, by my there abyding, talke [1]and confere dayly with many of these wyly wanderars of both sortes, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrles, by whom I haue [leaf 2, back] gathered and vnderstande their depe dissimulation and detestable dealynge, beinge maruelous suttle and craftye in there kynde, for not one amongst twenty wyll discouer, eyther declare there scelorous secretes: yet with fayre flatteringe wordes, money, and good chere, I haue attained to the typ by such as the meanest of them hath wandred these xiii. yeares, and most xvi. and some twenty and vpward,[2] and not withoute faythfull promesse made vnto them neuer to discouer their names or any thinge they shewed me; for they would all saye, yf the vpright men should vnderstand thereof, they should not be only greuouslye beaten, but put in daunger of their lyues, by the sayd vpright men. There was a fewe yeares since a small bréefe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey, of whom I knowe not, that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge[3] practyses, but well worthy of prayse. But (good madame), with nolesse trauell then good wyll, I haue repayred and rygged the Shyp of knowledge, and haue hoyssed vp the sayles of good fortune, that

[1] leaf 2 *b*. Bodley edition (B).

[2] The severe Act against vagrants, Ed. VI., c. 3, was passed in 1548, only 19 years before the date of this 2nd edition.

[3] The 1573 edition reads *pynking*

she maye safely passe aboute and through all partes of this noble realme, and there make porte sale of her wyshed wares, to the confusion of their drowsey demener and vnlawfull language, pylfring pycking, wily wanderinge, and lykinge lechery, of all these rablement of rascales that raunges about al *the* costes of the same, So *that* their vndecent, dolefull dealing and execrable exercyses. may apere to all as it were in a glasse, that therby the Iusticers *and* Shréeues may in their circutes be more vygelant to punishe these malefactores, and the Counstables, Bayliffes, and bosholders,[1] settinge asyde all feare, slouth, *and* pytie, may be more circomspect in executing the charg geuen them by the aforesayd Iusticers. Then wyll no more this rascall rablement raunge about the countrey. Then greater reliefe may be shewed to *the* pouerty of eche parishe. Then shall we kepe our Horses in our pastures vnstolen. Then our lynnen clothes shall and maye lye safelye one our hedges vntouched. Then shall we not haue our clothes and lynnen hoked out at our wyndowes as well by day as by night. Then shall we not haue our houses broken vp in the night, as of late one of my nyghtbors had and two great buckes of clothes stolen out, and most of the same fyne Lynnen. Then shall we safely kepe our pigges and poultrey from pylfring. Then shall we surely passe by [2]*the* hygh waies leading to markets *and* fayres vnharmed. Then shall our Shopes and bothes be vnpycked *and* spoyled. Then shall these vncomly companies be dispersed and set to labour for their lyuinge, or hastely hang for [leaf 3] their demerites. Then shall it incourrage a great number of gentle men and others, seing this securitie, to set vp houses and kepe hospitalytie in the countrey, to the comfort of their nighboures, releife of the poore, and to the amendement of the common welth. Then shall not sinne and wickednes so much abound among vs. Then wil gods wrath be much *the* more pacified towards vs. Then shall we not tast of so many and sondry plages, as now dayely raigneth ouer vs. And then shall this Famous Empyre be in more welth *and* better florysh, to the inestymable ioye *and* comfort of the Quenes most excelent maiestye, whom god of his

[1] So printed in both 1567 editions. 1573 reads *housholders;* but *Borsholders* is doubtless meant.

[2] leaf 3. B.

infinyte goodnes, to his great glory, long and many yeares make most prosperously to raygne ouer vs, to the great Felycitye of all the Peres and Nobles, and to the vnspeakable ioye, releife, and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons *and* Subiectes. Now, me thinketh, I se how these peuysh, peruerse, and pestil*en*t people begyn to freat, fume, sweare, and stare at this my booke, their lyfe being layd open and aparantly paynted out, that their confusion and end draweth one a pase. Where as in dede, if it be well waied, it is set forth for their synguler profyt and co*m*moditie, for the sure safegard of their lyues here in this world, that they shorten not the same before [1] their time, and that by their true labour and good lyfe, in the world to com they may saue their Soules, that Christ, the second person in [the] Trinytie, hath so derely bought w*ith* his most precious bloud: so that hereby I shall do them more good then they could haue deuised for them selues. For behold, their lyfe being so manyfest wycked and so aparantlye knowen, The honorable wyl abhore them, The worshipfull wyll reiecte them, The yemen wyll sharpely tawnte them, The Husband men vtterly defye them, The laboryng men bluntly chyde them, The wemen with a loud exclamation [2] wonder at them, And all Children with clappinge handes crye out at them. I manye times musing with my selfe at these mischeuous misliuers, merueled when they toke their oryginall *and* beginning; how long they haue exercised their execrable wandring about. I thought it méete to confer with a very old man that I was well acquaynted with, whose wyt *and* memory is meruelous for his yeares, beinge about the age of fourescore, what he knewe when he was yonge of these lousey leuterars. And he shewed me, that when he was yonge he wayted vpon a man of much worshyp in Kent, who died immediatly after the last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded: at his buryall there was such a number of beggers, besides poore housholders dwelling there abouts, that vnneth they mighte lye or stande aboute the House: then was there [leaf 3, back] prepared for them a great and a large barne, and a great fat oxe sod out in Furmenty for them, with bread *and* drinke aboundantly to furnesh out the premisses; and euery person had two pence, for such was the

[1] Printed "*brfore*" [2] *reclamation*. B.

dole. When Night approched, *the* pore housholders repaired home to their houses: the other wayfaring bold beggers remained alnight in *the* barne; and the same barne being serched with light in the night by this old man (and then yonge), with[1] others, they tolde seuen score persons of men, euery of them hauing his woman, except it were two wemen that lay alone to gether for some especyall cause. Thus hauing their makes to make mery withall, the buriall was turned to bousing *and* belly chere, morning to myrth, fasting to feasting, prayer to pastyme *and* pressing of papes, and lamenting to Lechery. So that it may apere this vncomly company hath had a long continuance, but then nothinge geuen so much to pylferinge, pyckinge, and spoyling; and, as far as I can learne or vnderstand by the examination of a number of them, their languag—which they terme peddelars Frenche or Canting—began but within these xxx. yeeres,[2] lytle aboue; and that the first inuenter therof was hanged, all saue the head; for that is the fynall end of them all, or els to dye of some filthy and horyble diseases: but much harme is don in the meane space by their continuance, as some x., xii., and xvi. yeares before they be consumed, and the number of them doth dayly renew. I hope their synne is now at the hyghest; and that as short and as spedy a redresse wylbe for these, as hath bene of late yeres for *the* wretched, wily, wandering vagabonds calling and naming them selues Egiptians, depely dissembling and long hyding *and* couering their depe, decetfull practises,—feding the rude common people, wholy addicted and geuen to nouelties, toyes, and new inuentions,—delyting them with the strangenes of the attyre of their heades, and practising paulmistrie to such as would know their fortunes: And, to be short, all theues and hores (as I may well wryt),—as some haue had true experience, a number can well wytnes, and a great sorte hath well felte it. And now (thankes bée to god), throughe wholsome lawes, and the due execution thereof, all be dispersed, banished,[3] *and* the memory of them cleane extynguished; that when they bée once named here after, our Chyldren wyll muche meruell what kynd of people they were: and so, I trust, shal shortly happen of these.

[1] The 1573 edition reads *and*

[2] The 1573 edition here inserts the word *or*

[3] *vanished.* B.

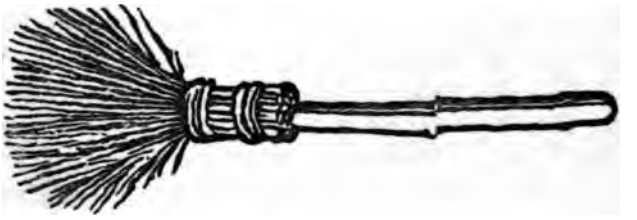
For what thinge doth chiefely cause these rowsey rakehelles thus to continue and dayly increase? Surely a number of wicked parsons that kéepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they haue succour and reliefe; and what so euer they bring, they are sure to receaue money for [leaf 4] the same, for they sell good penyworthes. The byers haue *the* greatest gayne; yea, yf they haue nether money nor ware, they wylbe trusted; their credite is much. I haue taken a note of a good many of them, *and* wil send their names and dwelling-places to such Iusticers as dwelleth nere or next vnto them, that they by their good wisdomes may displace the same, and auctoryse such as haue honesty. I wyl not blot my boke with their names, because they be resident. But as for this fletinge Fellowshyp, I haue truly setforth the most part of them that be doers at this present, with their names that they be knowene by. Also, I haue placed in the end therof their leud language, calling the same pedlers French or Canting. And now shal I end my prologue, makinge true declaration (right honorable Lady) as they shal fall in order of their vntymelye tryfelinge time, leud lyfe, and pernitious practises, trusting that the same shall neyther trouble or abash your most tender, tymerous, and pytifull Nature, to thinke the smal mede should growe vnto you for such Almes so geuen. For god, our marcifull and most louing father, well knoweth your hartes and good intent,—the geuer neuer wanteth his reward, according to the sayinge of Saynt Augustyn: as there is (neyther shalbe) any synne vnpunished, euen so shall there not be eny good dede vnrewarded. But how comfortably speaketh Christ our Sauiour vnto vs in his gospel ("geue yē, and it shalbe geuen you againe"): behold farther, good Madam, that for a cup of colde water, Christ hath promised a good reward. Now saynt Austen properly declareth why Christ speaketh of colde water, because the poorest man that is shall not excuse him selfe from that cherytable warke, least he would, parauenture, saye that he hath neyther wood, pot, nor pan to warme any water with. Se, farther, what god speaketh in the mouth of his prophet, Esaye, "breake thy bread to him that is a hongred;" he sayth not geue him a hole lofe, for paraduenture the poore man hath it not to geue, then let him geue a pece. This much is sayd because the poore that hath it should not

be excused : now how much more then the riche? Thus you se, good
madam, for your treasure here dispersed, where nede and lacke
is, it shalbe heaped vp aboundantly for you in heauen,
where neither rust or moth shall corupt or destroy
the same. Vnto which tryumphant place, after
many good, happy, and fortunat yeres pros-
perouslye here dispended. you maye for
euer and euer there most ioyfully
remayne. A men.

¶¶ *FINIS.*

Thre things to be noted all in their kynde
A staff, a béesom, and wyth, that wyll wynde

¶ A béesome of byrche, for babes very feete,[1]
A longe lastinge lybbet for loubbers as méete
A wyth to wynde vp, that these wyll not kéepe
Bynde all up in one, and vse it to swéepe



[This page is printed at the back of the title page in Bodley edition.]

[1] *fyt.* B.

¶ THE EPISTLE TO THE READER. [leaf 5]

AL though, good Reader, I wright in plain termes—and not so playnly as truely—concerning the matter, meaning honestly to all men, and wyshe them as much good as to myne owne harte; yet, as there hathe bene, so there is nowe, and hereafter wylbe, curyous heds to finde fauttes: wherefore I thought it necessary, now at this seconde Impression, to acquaynt *the* with a great faulte, as some takethe it, but none[1] as I meane it, callinge these Vagabonds Cursetors in the intytelynge of my booke, as runneres or rangers aboute the countrey, deriued of this Laten word (*Curro*): neither do I wryght it Cooresetores, with a duble[2] oo; or Cowresetors, with a w, which hath an other singnification: is there no deuersite betwen a gardein and a garden, maynteynaunce *and* maintenance, Streytes and stretes? those that haue vnderstanding knowe there is a great dyfference: who is so ignorant by these dayes as knoweth not the meaning of a vagabone? and yf an ydell leuterar should be so called of eny man, would not he thi*n*k it bothe odyous and reprochefull? wyll he not shonne the name? ye, and where as he maye and dare, w*ith* bent browes, wyll reueng that name of Ingnomy: yet this playne name vagabone is deryued, as others be, of Laten wordes, and now vse makes it commen to al men; but let vs loke back four .C. yeres sithens, *and* let vs se whether this playn word vagabon was vsed or no. I beleue not, and why? because I rede of no such name in the old estatutes of this realme, vnles it be in the margente of the booke, or in the Table, which in the collection and pryntinge was set in; but these were then the co*m*men names of these leud leuterars, Faytores, Robardesmen, Drawlatches, *and* valyant beggares. Yf I should haue vsed suche wordes, or the same order of wryting, as this realme vsed in Kynge Henry the thyrd or Edward *the* fyrstes tyme, oh, what a grose, barberous fellow [leaf 5, back] haue we here! his wryting is both homely and darke, that wee had nede to haue an interpretar: yet then it was verye well, and in short season a great change we see: well, this delycat age shall haue his tyme on the

[1] The 1573 ed. reads *not*.
[2] This word is omitted in the 1573 ed.

other syde. Eloquence haue I none; I neuer was acquaynted with the muses; I neuer tasted of Helycon. But accordinge to my playne order, I haue setforth this worke, symplye and truelye, with such vsual words and termes as is among vs wel known and frequented. So that as *the* prouerbe saythe, "all though truth be blamed, it shal neuer be shamed." well, good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare donn whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse; and as I truste I haue deserued no rebuke for my good wyll, euen so I desyre no prayse for my payne, cost, and trauell. But faithfullye for the proffyt and benyfyt of my countrey I haue don it, that the whole body of the Realme may se and vnderstand their leud lyfe and pernitious practisses, that all maye spedelye helpe to amend that is amysse. Amen saye all with me.

Finis

¶ A RUFFLER. Ca. 1.[1] [leaf 6]

THE Rufflar, because he is first in degre of this odious order: And is so called in a statute made for the punishment of Vacabonds, In the xxvij. yeare of Kyng Henry the eight, late of most famous memory: Hée shall be first placed, as the worthiest of this vnruly rablement. And he is so called when he goeth first abroad; eyther he hath serued in the warres, or els he hath bene a seruinge man; and, weary of well doing, shakinge of all payne, doth chuse him this ydle lyfe, and wretchedly wanders aboute the most shyres of this realme. And with stout audacyte, [2] demaundeth where he thinketh hée maye be bolde, and circomspecte ynough, as he sethe cause to aske charitie, rufully and lamentably, that it would make a flyntey hart to relent, and pytie his miserable estate, howe he hath bene maymed and broused in the warres; *and*, parauenture, some wyll shew you some outward wounde, whiche he gotte at some dronken fraye, eyther haltinge of some preuye wounde festred with a fylthy firy flankard. For be well assured that the hardist souldiers be eyther slayne or maymed, eyther and[3] they escape all hassardes, and retourne home agayne, if they bée without reliefe of their friends, they wyl surely desperatly robbe and steale, and[4] eyther shortlye be hanged or miserably dye in pryson; for they be so much ashamed and disdayne to beg or aske charity, that rather they wyll as desperatlye fight for to lyue and mayntayne them selues, as manfully and valyantly they ventred them selues in the Prynces quarell. Now these Rufflars, the out castes of seruing men, when begginge or crauinge fayles, then they pycke and pylfer, from other inferiour beggeres that they méete by the waye, as Roages, Pallyardes, Mortes, and Doxes. Yea, if they méete with a woman alone ridinge to the market, eyther olde man or boye, that hée well knoweth wyll not resiste, such they filche and spoyle. These rufflars, after a yeare or two at the farthest, become vpryght men, vnlesse they be preuented by twind hempe.

[1] The chapters are not noted in the Bodley ed.
[2] The 1573 ed. here inserts the word *he*
[3] 1573 reads *if* [4] 1573 has *or*

{I had of late yeares an old man to my tennant, who customably a greate tyme went twise in the wéeke to London, eyther wyth fruite or with pescodes, when tyme serued therefore. And as he was comminge homewarde on blacke heathe, at the end thereof next to shotars hyl, he ouer tooke two rufflars, the one manerly wayting on the other, as one had ben the maister, *and* the other the man or seruant, [leaf 6, back] caryinge his maisteres cloke. this olde man was verye glad that hee might haue their company ouer the hyl, because that day he had made a good market; for hée had seuen shyllinges in his purse, and a nolde angell, which this poore man had thought had not bene in his purse, for hée wylled his wyfe ouer night to take out the same angell, and laye it vp vntyll his comminge home agayne. And he verely thought that his wyfe had so don, whiche in dede for got to do it. Thus after salutations had, this maister rufflar entered into communication with this simple olde man, who, ridinge softlye beside them, commoned of many matters. Thus fedinge this old man with pleasaunt talke, vntyll they weare one the toppe of the hyll, where these rufflares might well beholde the coaste about them cleare, Quiclye stepes vnto this poore man, and taketh holde of his horse brydell, and leadeth him in to the wode, and demaundeth of him what and how much money he had in his purse. "Now, by my troth," quoth this old man; "you are a merrye gentle man. I knowe you meane not to take a waye anye thinge from me, but rather to geue me some if I shoulde aske it of you." By and by, this seruant thiefe casteth the cloke that he caried on his arme about this poore mans face, that he should not marke or vew them, with sharpe words to delyuer quicly that he had, and to confesse truly what was in his purse. This poore man, then all abashed, yelded, and confessed that he had but iust seuen shyllinges in his purse; and the trouth is he knew of no more. This old angell was falen out of a lytle purse into the botome of a great purse. Now, this seuen shyllings in whyte money they quickly founde, thinkinge in dede that there had bene no more; yet farther groping and searchinge, found this old angell. And with great admiration, this gentleman thyefe begane to blesse hym, sayinge, "good lorde, what a worlde is this! howe maye" (quoth hée) "a man beleue

or truste in the same? se you not" (quoth he) "this old knaue tolde me that he had but seuen shyllings, and here is more by an angell: what an old knaue and a false knaue haue we here!" quoth this rufflar; "oure lorde haue mercy on vs, wyll this worlde neuer be better?"—and there with went their waye. And lefte the olde man in the wood, doinge him no more harme. But sorowfully sighinge, this olde man, returning home, declared his misaduenture, with all the words and circumstaunces aboue shewed. Wherat, for the tyme was great laughing, and this poore man for his losses among his louing neighboures well considered in the end.

¶ A VPRIGHT MAN. Ca. 2.

[leaf 7] A Vpright[1] man, the second in secte of this vnsemely sorte, must be next placed, of these rainginge rablement of rascales; some be seruing men, artificers, and laboryng men traded vp in husbandry. These not mindinge to get their lyuinge with the swete of their face, but casting of all payne, wyll wander, after their wycked maner, through the most shyres of this realm,—

As Sommerset shyre, Wylshire, Barke shyre, Oxforde shyre, Harfordeshyre, Myddilsex, Essex, Suffolke, Northfolke, Sussex, Surrye, and Kent, as the cheyfe and best shyres of reliefe. Yea, not with out punishment by stockes, whyppinges, and imprisonment, in most of these places aboue sayde. Yet, not with standinge they haue so good lykinge in their lewed, lecherous loyteringe, that full quiclye all their punishmentes is[2] for gotten. And repentaunce is neuer thought vpon vntyll they clyme thrée tres with a ladder. These vnrewly rascales, in their roylynge, disperse them selues into seuerall companyes, as occation serueth, sometyme more and somtyme lesse. As, if they repayre to a poore husbandmans house, hée wyll go a lone, or one with him, and stoutely demaund his charytie, eyther shewing how he hath serued in the warres, and their maymed, eyther that he sekethe seruice, and saythe that he woulde be glad to take payne for hys lyuinge, althoughe he meaneth nothinge lesse.

[1] Printed "*vpreght.*" *vpright* in Bodley ed.
[2] 1573, *be*

Yf he be offered any meate or drynke, he vtterlye refusethe scornefully, and wyll nought but money; and yf he espye yong pyges or pultry, he well noteth the place, and they the next night, or shortly after, hée wyll be sure to haue some of them, whyche they brynge to their stawlinge kens, which is their typplyng houses, as well knowen to them, according to the olde prouerbe, "as the begger knowes his dishe." For you must vnderstand, euery Typplyng ale house wyll neyther receiue them or their wares, but some certayne houses in euery shyre, especially for that purpose, where they shalbe better welcome to them then honester men. For by such haue they most gayne, and shalbe conuayde eyther into some loft out of the waye, or other secret corner not commen to any other; and thether repayre, at accustomed tymes, their harlots, whiche they terme Mortes and Doxes,—not with emty hands; for they be as skilfull in picking, riffling, *and* filching as the vpright men, and nothing inferior to them in all kind of wyckednes, as in other places hereafter they shalbe touched. At these foresayde peltinge, peuish places and vnmannerly metinges, O! how the pottes walke about! their talk*in*g tounges talke at large. They bowle and bowse one to another, and for the tyme bousing belly chere. And after there ruysting recreation, [leaf 7, back] yf there be not rome ynough in the house, they haue cleane strawe in some barne or backehouse nere adioyning, where they couch comly to gether, and[1] it were dogge and bych; and he that is hardyste maye haue his choyse, vnlesse for a lytle good maner; some wyll take there owne that they haue made promyse vnto, vntyll they be out of sight, and then, according to the old adage, "out of minde." Yet these vpright men stand so much vpon their reputation, as they wyl in no case haue their women walke with them, but seperat them selues for a tyme, a moneth or more. And mete at fayres, or great markets, where they mete to pylfer and steale from staules, shoppes, or bothes. At these fayres the vpryght men vse commonly to lye *and* lingar in hye wayes by lanes, some prety way or distaunce from *the* place, by which wayes they be assured that compeny passeth styll two and fro. And ther they[2] wyll demaund, with cap in hand and comly curtesy, the deuotion and charity of *the* people. They

[1] 1573, *as* [2] *the*. B.

haue ben much lately whipped at fayrs. Yf they aske at a stout yemans or farmars house his charity, they wyll goe strong as thre or foure in a company. Where for feare more then good wyll, they often haue reliefe. they syldome or neuer passe by a Iustices house, but haue by wayes, vnlesse he dwell alone, and but weakely manned; thether wyll they also go strong, after a slye, suttle sorte, as with their armes bounde vp with kercher or lyste, hauinge wrapte about the same filthy clothes, either their legges in such maner bewrapped halting down right. Not vnprouided of good codg[e]ls, which they cary to sustayne them, and, as they fayne, to kéepe gogges[1] from them, when they come to such good gentlemens houses. Yf any searche be made or they suspected for pylfring clothes of hedgges, or breaking of houses, which they commonly do when the owners bée eyther at the market, church, or other wayes occupyed aboute their busines,—eyther robbe some sely man or woman by the hye waye, as many tymes they do,—Then they hygh them into wodes, great thickets, and other ruffe corners, where they lye lurkinge thre or foure dayes to gether, and haue meate and drinke brought them by theyre Mortes, and Doxes; and whyle they thus lye hydden in couert, in the night they be not idle,—nether, as *the* common saying is, "well occupyed;" for then, as the wyly foxe, crepinge out of his den, seketh his praye for pultery, so do these for lynnen and any thinge els worth money, that lyeth about or near a house. As somtyme a whole bucke of clothes caryed awaye at a tyme. When they haue a greatter booty then they maye cary awaye quickly to their stawling kendes, as is aboue sayd, They wyll hyde the same for a thre dayes in some thicke couert, and [leaf 8] in the night time carye the same, lyke good water Spanlles, to their foresayd houses. To whom they wyll discouer where or in what places they had the same, where the markes shalbe pycked out cleane, *and* conuayed craftely fare of, to sell. If the man or woman of the house want money them selues. [2] If these vpright men haue nether money nor wares, at these houses they shalbe trusted for their vitales, and it amount to twentye or thirty shyllings. Yea, if it fortune any of these vpright men to be taken, either suspected, or charged with fellony or petye

[1] *dogges.* B. [2] 1573 inserts *and*

brybrye, don at such a tyme or such a place, he wyll saye he was in his hostes house. And if the man or wyfe of that house be examined by an officer, they boldelye vouche, that the[y] lodged him suche a tyme, whereby the truth cannot appeare. And if they chaunce to be retained into seruice, through their lamentable words, with any welthy man, They wyll tary but a smale tyme, either robbing his maister or som of his fellowes. And some of them vseth this polocye, that although they trauayle into al these shyres, aboue said, yet wyl they haue good credite, espiciallye in one shyre, where at diuers good farmars houses they be wel knowen, where they worke a moneth in a place or more, and wyll for that time behaue them selues very honestly *and* paynfully; And maye at any tyme, for their good vsage, haue worke of them; and to these at a ded lyft, or last refuge, they maye safely repayre vnto and be welcom, When in other places, for a knacke of knauery that they haue playd, thei dare not tary. These vyright men wil sildom or neuer want; for what is gotten by anye Mort, or Doxe, if it please him, hée doth comaunde the same. And if he mete any begger, whether he be sturdye or impotent, he wyll demaund of him, whether euer he was stalled to the roge or no. If he saye he was, he wyll know of whom, and his name *that* stalled hym. And if he be not learnedly able to shewe him the whole circumstaunce thereof, he wyll spoyle him of his money, either of his best garment, if it be worth any money, and haue him to the bowsing ken, Which is to some typpling house next adioyninge; and laieth their to gage the best thing that he hath for twenty pence or two shyllinges: this man obeyeth for feare of beating. Then doth this vpright man call for a gage of bowse, whiche is a quarte pot of drinke, and powres the same vpon his peld pate, adding these words:—"I. G. P. do stalle thée W. T. to the Roge, and that from hence forth it shall be lawefull for the to Cant"—that is, to aske or begge—"for thy liuing in al places." Here you se *that* the vpright man is of great auctorite. For all sortes of beggers are obedient to his hests, and surmounteth all others in pylfring and stealinge. ¶ I lately had standinge in my [leaf 8, back] well house, which standeth on the backeside of my house, a great cawdron of copper, beinge then full of water, hauinge in the same halfe a doson

be sure to haue *the* next night folowing; for they customably carry with them a staffe of v. or vi. foote long, in which, within one ynch of *the* tope therof, ys a lytle hole bored through, [leaf 9] in which hole they putte an yron hoke, and with the same they wyll pluck vnto them quickly any thing *that* they may reche ther with, which hoke in the day tyme they couertly cary about them, and is neuer sene or taken out till they come to the place where they worke there fete: such haue I sene at my house, and haue oft talked with them and haue handled ther staues, not then vnderstanding to what vse or int*ent* they serued, although I hadde and perceiued, by there talke and behauiour, great lykelyhode of euyll suspition in them: they wyl ether leane vppon there staffe, to hyde the hole thereof, when they talke with you, or holde their hande vpon the hole; and what stuffe, either wollen or lynnen, they thus hoke out, they neuer carye the same forth with to their staulyng kens, but hides the same a iij. daies in some secret corner, *and* after conuayes the same to their houses abouesaid, where their host or hostys geueth them money for the same, but halfe the value that it is worth, or els their doxes shall a farre of sell the same at the like houses. I was credebly informed that a hoker came to a farmers house in the ded of the night, and putting back a drawe window of a low cha*m*ber, the bed standing hard by the sayd wyndow, in which laye three parsones (a man and two bygge boyes), this hoker with his staffe plucked of their garme*n*ts which lay vpon them to kepe them warme, with the couerlet and shete, and lefte them lying a slepe naked sauing there shertes, and had a way all clene, and neuer could vnderstande where it became. I verely suppose that when they wer wel waked with cold, they suerly thought that Robin goodfelow (accordiñge to the old saying) had bene with them that night.

¶ A ROGE. Cap. 4.

A Roge is neither so stoute or hardy as the vpright man. Many of them will go fayntly and looke piteously when they sée, either méete any person, hauing a kercher, as white as my shooes, tyed about their head, with a short staffe in their hand, haltinge, although they nede not, requiring almes of such as they

méete, or to what house they shal com. But you may easely perceiue by their colour *that* thei cary both health and hipocrisie about them, wherby they get gaine, when others want that cannot fayne and dissemble. Others therebee that walke sturdely about *the* countrey, *and* faineth to seke a brother or kinsman of his, dwelling within som part of *the* shire;—ether that he hath a letter to deliuer to som honest housholder, dwelling out of an other Shyre, and will shewe you the same fayre sealed, with the superscription to [leaf 9, back] the partye he speaketh of, because you shall not thinke him to runne idelly about the countrey;—either haue they this shyfte, they wyll cary a cirtificate or pasport about them from som Iusticer of the peace, with his hand and seale vnto the same, howe hée hath bene whipped and punished for a vacabonde according to the lawes of this realme, and that he muste returne to .T., where he was borne or last dwelt, by a certayne daye lymited in the same, whiche shalbe a good longe daye. And all this fayned, bycause without feare they woulde wyckedly wander, and wyll renue the same where or when it pleasethe them; for they haue of their affinity that can wryte and read. These also wyll picke and steale as the vpright men, and hath their women and metinges at places apoynted, and nothinge to them inferiour in all kynde of knauery. There bée of these Roges Curtales, wearinge shorte clokes, that wyll chaunge their aparell, as occation seruethe. And their end is eyther hanginge, whiche they call trininge in their language, or die miserably of the pockes.

¶ There was not long sithens two Roges that alwaies did associate them selues together, *and* would neuer seperat them selues, vnles it were for some especiall causes, for they were sworn brothers, *and* were both of one age, and much like of favour: these two, trauelinge into east kent, resorted vnto an ale house there,[1] being weried with traueling, saluting with short curtisey, when they came into the house, such as thei sawe sitting there, in whiche company was the parson of the parish; and callinge for a pot of the best ale, sat downe at the tables ende: the lykor liked them so well, that they had pot vpon pot, and sometyme, for a lytle good maner, would drinke and offer the cup to such as they best fancied; and to be short, they sat

[1] 1573 omits.

out al the company, for eche man departed home aboute their busines. When they had well refreshed them selues, then these rowsy roges requested the good man of the house wyth his wyfe to sit downe and drinke with them, of whome they inquired what priest the same was, and where he dwelt: then they fayninge that they had an vncle a priest, and that he should dwel in these partes, which by all presumptions it should be he, and that they came of purpose to speake with hym, but because they had not sene hym sithens they were sixe yeares olde, they durst not be bold to take acquayntance of him vntyl they were farther instructed of the truth, and began to inquier of his name, and how longe he had dwelt there, and how farre his house was of from *the* place they were in: the good wyfe of the house, thynkinge them honest men without disceit, because they so farre enquyred of their kinseman, was but of a good zelous naturall intent, shewed them cherefully that hee [leaf 10] was an honest man *and* wellbeloued in the parish, and of good welth, *and* had ben there resident xv. years at the least; "but," saith she, "are you both brothers?" "yea, surely," said they, "we haue bene both in one belly, *and* were twinnes." "Mercy, god!" q*uoth* this folish woman; "it may wel be, for ye be not much vnlike,"—and wente vnto her hall windowe, callinge these yong men vnto her, and loking out therat,[1] pointed with her fingar *and* shewed them the house standing alone, no house nere the same by almoste a quarter of a myle; "that," sayd[2] she, "is your vncles house." "Nay," saith one of them, "he is not onely my vncle, but also my godfather." "It may well be," q*uoth* she, "nature wyll bind him to be the better vnto you." "Well," q*uoth* they, "we be weary, and meane not to trouble our vncle to-night; but to-morowe, god willinge, we wyll sée him and do our duty: but, I pray you, doth our vncle occupy husbandry? what company hath he in his house." "Alas!" saith she, "but one old woman *and* a boy, he hath no occupying at al: tushe," q*uoth* this good wyfe, "you be mad men; go to him this night, for hée hath better lodging for you then I haue, *and* yet I speake folishly against my[3] own profit, for by your taring[4] here I should gaine *the* more by you." "Now, by my troth," q*uoth* one of them, "we thanke

[1] 1573 omits. [2] *saith*. B. [3] 1573, *myne* [4] *tarying*. B.

you, good hostes, for your holsome councell, and we meane to do as you wyll vs: we wyl pause a whyle, and by that tyme it wylbe almost night; *and* I praye you geue vs a reckeninge,"—so, manerly paying for that they toke, bad their hoste and hostes farewell with takinge leaue of the cup, marched merelye out of the dores towardes this parsones house, vewed the same well rounde about, and passed by two bowshotes of into a younge wodde, where they laye consultinge what they shoulde do vntyll midnight. Quoth one of them, of sharper wyt and subtyller then the other, to hys fellowe, "thou seest that this house is stone walled about, and that we cannot well breake in, in any parte thereof; thou seest also that the windowes be thicke of mullions, that ther is no kreping in betwene: wherefore we must of necessytie vse some policye when strength wil not serue. I haue a horse locke here about me," saith he; "and this I hope shall serue oure turne." So when it was aboute xii. of the clocke, they came to the house and lurked nere vnto his chamber wyndowe: the dog of the house barked a good, that with they[1] noise, this priest waketh out of his sléepe, and began to cough and hem: then one of these roges stepes forth nerer the window *and* maketh a ruful *and* pityful noise, requiring for Christ sake[2] some reliefe, that was both hongry and thirstye, and was like to ly with out the dores all nighte and starue for colde, vnles he were releued by him with some small pece of money. "Where dwellest thou?" quoth this parson. "Alas! sir," saithe this roge, "I haue smal [leaf 10, back] dwelling, and haue com out of my way; and I should now," saith he, "go to any towne nowe at this time of night, they woulde set me in the stockes and punishe me." "Well," quoth this pitifull parson, "away from my house, either lye in some of my out houses vntyll the morning, and holde, here is a couple of pence for thée." "A god rewarde you," quoth this roge; "and in heauen may you finde it." The parson openeth his wyndowe, and thrusteth out his arme to geue his almes to this Roge that came whining to receiue it, and quickly taketh holde of his hand, and calleth his fellowe to him, whiche was redye at hande with the horse locke, and clappeth the same about the wrest of his arme, that the mullions standing so close together for strength, that for his

[1] So printed. Bodley ed. has *the* [2] *sakes*. B.

quoth this parson, "when I speake so earnestly." "Why, all your sorrowes goe with it," quoth this good wife, "and sitte downe here, and I will fil a freshe pot of ale shall make you mery agayne." "Yea," saith this parson, "fill in, *and* geue me some meat; for they made me sweare and promise them faithfully that I shoulde drinke xii. pence with you this day." "What! dyd they?" quoth she; "now, by the mary masse, they be mery knaues. I warraunt you they meane to bye no land with your money; but how could they come into you in the night, your dores being shut fast? your house is very stronge." Then this prason[1] shewed her all the hole circumstance, how he gaue them his almes oute at the wyndowe, they[2] made such lamentable crye that it pytied him at the hart; for he sawe but one when he put oute his hand at the windowe. "Be ruled by me," quoth this good wyfe. "Wherin?" quoth this parson. "By my troth, neuer speake more of it: when they shal vnderstand of it in the parish, they wyll but laugh you to skorne." [3]"Why, then," quoth this parson, "the deuyll goe with it,"—and their an end.[3]

¶ A WYLDE ROGE. Cap. 5.

A Wilde Roge is he that is borne a Roge: he is a more subtil and more geuen by nature to all kinde of knauery then the other, as beastely begotten in barne or bushes, and from his infancye traded vp in trechery; yea, and before ripenes of yeares doth permyt, wallowinge in lewde lechery, but that is counted amongest them no sin. For this is their customo, that when they mete in barne at night, euery one getteth a make[4] to lye wythall, *and* their chaunce to be twentye in a companye, as their is sometyme more and sometyme lesse: for to one man that goeth abroad, there are at the least two women, which neuer make it straunge when they be called, although she neuer knewe him before. Then when the day doth appeare, he rouses him vp, and shakes his eares, and awaye wanderinge where he may gette oughte to the hurte of others. Yet before he skyppeth oute of hys couche and departeth from his darling, if he like her well, he will apoint her where to mete shortlye

[1] so printed. [2] *the*. B.
[3–3] Why . . . . . end. B. omits. [4] 1573 reads *mate*

after, with a warninge to worke warely for some chetes, that their meting might be the merier.

¶ Not long sithens, a wild roge chaunced to mete a pore neighbour of mine, who for honesty *and* good natur surmounteth many. This poore man, riding homeward from London, where he had made his market, this [leaf 11, back] roge demaunded a peny for gods sake, to kepe him a true man. This simple man, beholding him wel, and sawe he was of taule personage with a good quarter staffe in his hand, it much pitied him, as he sayd, to se him want; for he was well able to serue his prince in the wars. Thus, being moued with pytie, and[1] loked in his pursse to finde out a penye; and in loking for the same, he plucked oute viii. shyllinges in whyte money, and raked therin to finde a single peny; and at the last findinge one, doth offer the same to this wylde roge: but he, seinge so much mony in this simple mans hand, being striken to the hart with a couetous desire, bid him forth wyth delyuer al that he had, or els he woulde with his staffe beat out his braynes. For it was not a penye would now quench his thirst, [2]seing so much as he dyd[2]: thus, swallowinge his spittell gredely downe, spoyled this poore man of al *the* money that he had, and lept ouer the hedge into a thicke wode, and went his waye as merely as this good simple man came home sorowfully. I once rebuking a wyld roge because he went idelly about, he shewed me that he was a begger by enheritance—his Grandfather was a begger, his father was one, and he must nedes be one by good reason.

¶ A PRYGGER OF PRAUNCERS. Cap. 6.

A Prigger of Prauncers be horse stealers; for to prigge signifieth in their language to steale, *and* a Prauncer is a horse: so beinge put together, the matter is[3] playne. These go commonly in Ierkins of leatherr, or of white frese, *and* carry litle wands in their hands, and will walke through grounds and pastures, to search and se horses meete for their purpose. And if thei chaunce to be met and asked by the owners of the grounde what they make there, they fayne strayghte that they haue loste their waye, and de-

[1] omitted in 1573.
[2–2] seing . . . . . dyd. B. omits.
[3] 1573, *was*

syre to be enstructed the beste waye to such a place. These will also repayre to gentlemens houses and aske their charitye, and wyll offer their seruice. And if you aske them what they can do, they wyll saye that they can kepe two or thre Geldinges, and waite vppon a Gentleman. These haue also their women, that walkinge from them in other places, marke where and what they sée abroade, and sheweth these Priggars therof when they meete, which is with in a wéeke or two. And loke, where they steale any thinge, they conuay *the* same at the least thre score miles of or more.

¶ There was a Gentleman, a verye friende of myne, rydyng from London homewarde into Kente, hauinge with in thrée myles of his house busynesse, alyghted of his horse, and his man also, in a pretye [leaf 12] vyllage, where diueres houses were, and looked aboute hym where he myghte haue a conuenient person to walke his horse, because hee would speake *with* a Farmer that dwelt on the backe side of the sayde village, lytle aboue a quarter of a myle from the place where he lighted, and had his man to waight vpon him, as it was mete for his callinge: espying a Pryggar there standing, thinking the same to dwell there, charging this prity prigginge person to walke his horse well, and that they might not stande styll for takyng of colde, and at his returne (which he saide should not be longe) he would geue hym a peny to drinke, and so wente aboute his busines. This peltynge Priggar, proude of his praye, walkethe his horse[1] vp and downe tyll he sawe the Gentleman out of sighte, and leapes him into the saddell, and awaye he goeth a mayne. This Gentleman returninge, and findinge not his horses, sent his man to the one end of the vyllage, and he went himselfe vnto the other ende, and enquired as he went for his horses that were walked, and began some what to suspecte, because neither he nor his man could se nor find him. Then this Gentleman deligentlye enquired of thre or foure towne dwellers there whether any such person, declaring his stature,[2] age, apparell, with so many linaments of his body as he could call to remembraunce. And, "vna voce," all sayde that no such man dwelt in their streate, neither in the parish, that they knewe of; but some did wel remember that such a one they saw there lyrkinge and hug-

[1] *horses.* B. [2] Printed *statute*

geringe two houres before the Gentleman came thether, and a straunger to them. "I had thoughte," quoth this Gentleman, "he had here dwelled,"—and marched home manerly in his botes: farre from the place he dwelt not. I suppose at his comming home he sente suche wayes as he suspected or thought méete to searche for this Prigger, but hetherto he neuer harde any tydinges agayne of his palfreys.—I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture that I had amongst others whyle this boke was first a printinge.

¶ A PALLYARD. Cap. 7.

THese Palliardes be called also Clapperdogens: these go with patched clokes, *and* haue their Morts with them, which they cal wiues; and if he goe to one house, to aske his almes, his wife shall goe to a nother: for what they get (as bread, chéese, malte, and woll) they sell the same for redy money; for so they get more and if they went together. Although they be thus[1] deuided in the daie, yet they mete iompe at night. Yf they chaunce to come to some gentylmans house standinge [leaf 12, back] a lone, and be demaunded whether they be man and wyfe, *and* if he perceaue that any doubteth thereof, he sheweth them a Testimonial with the ministers name, and others of the same parishe (naminge a parishe in some shere fare distant from the place where he sheweth the same). This writing he carieth to salue that sore. Ther be many Irishe men that goe about with counterfeate licenses; and if they perceiue you wil straytly examen them, they will immediatly saye they can speake no Englishe.

¶ Farther, vnderstand for trouth that the worst and wickedst of all this beastly generation are scarse comparable to these prating Pallyardes. All for the most parte of these wil either lay to their legs an herb called Sperewort, eyther Arsnicke, which is called Ratesbane. The nature of this Spereworte wyll rayse a great blister in a night vpon the soundest part of his body; and if the same be taken away, it wyl dry vp againe and no harme. But this Arsnicke will so poyson the same legge or sore, that it will euer after be incurable: this do they for gaine and to be pitied. The most of these that walke about be Walchmen.

[1] Printed *this*

¶ A FRATER. Cap. 8.

SOme of these Fraters will cary blacke boxes at their gyrdel, wher in they haue a briefe of the Queenes maiesties letters patentes, geuen to suche[1] poore spitlehouse for the reliefe of *the* poore there, whiche briefe is a coppie of the letters patentes, *and* vtterly fained, if it be in paper or in[2] parchment without the great seale. Also, if the same brief be in printe,[3] it is also of auctoritie. For the Printers wil sée *and* wel vnderstand, before it come in presse, that the same is lawfull. Also, I am credibly informed that the chiefe Proctors of manye of these houses, that seldome trauel abroad them selues, but haue their factors to gather for them, which looke very slenderly to the impotent and miserable creatures committed to their charge, *and* die for want of cherishing; wheras they *and* their wiues are wel crammed *and* clothed, *and* will haue of the best. And the founders of euery such house, or the chiefe of the parishe wher they be, woulde better sée vnto these Proctors, that they might do their duty, they should be wel spoken of here, and in the world to come abou*n*dantly therefore rewarded. I had of late an honest man, and of good wealthe, repayred to my house to common wyth me aboute certeyne affaires. I inuited the same to dinner, and dinner beinge done, I demaunded of hym some newes of these[4] parties were hee dwelte. "Thankes be to God, syr," (saith he); "all is well *and* good now." "Now!" (quoth I) "this same 'nowe' [leaf 18] declareth *that* some things of late hath not bene wel." "Yes, syr," (q*uoth* he) "the[5] matter is not great. I had thought I should haue bene wel beaten within this seuenth night." "How so?" (quoth I). "Mary, syr," sayd he, "I am Counstable for fault of a better, and was commaunded by the Iusticer to watch. The watch being set, I toke an honest man, one of my neighbors, with me, and went vp to the ende of the towne as far as the spittle house, at which house I heard a great noyse, and, drawing nere, stode close vnder the wall, and this was at one of the clocke after midnight.

[1] B. inserts *a* [2] B. omits *in*

[3] Probably the reason why "in print" came to be considered synonymous with "correct." See 2 Gent. of Verona, act ii. sc. 1, 175.

[4] *those.* B. [5] B. omits *the*

Where he harde swearinge, pratinge, and wagers laying, and the pot apase walkinge, and xl. pence gaged vpon a matche of wrastling, pitching of the barre, and casting of the sledge. And out they goe, in a fustian fume, into the backe syde, where was a great Axiltrye,[1] and there fell to pitching of the barre, being thre to thre. The Moone dyd shine bright, the Counstable with his neighboure myght see and beholde all that was done. And howe the wyfe of the house was rostinge of a Pyg, whyle her gestes were in their matche. At the laste they couldo not agree vpon a caste, and fell at wordes, and from wordes to blowes. The Counstable with his[2] fellowe runnes vnto them, to parte them, and in the partinge lyckes a drye blowe or two. Then the noyse increased; the Counstable woulde haue had them to[3] the stockes. The wyfe of the house runnes out with her goodman to intreat the Counstable for her gestes, and leaues the Pyg at the fyre alone. In commeth two or thrée of the next neighboures, beinge waked wyth this noise, and into the house they come, and fynde none therein, but the Pygge well rosted, and carieth the same awaye wyth them, spyte and all, with suche breade and drinke also as stoode vpon the table. When the goodman and the goodwyfe of the house hadde intreated and pacified the Counstable, shewinge vnto him that they were Proctors and Factores all of Spyttell houses, and that they taryed there but to breake theyr fast, and wouldo ryde awaye immediatelye after, for they had farre to goe, and therefore meante to ryde so earlye. And comminge into their house agayne, fyndinge the Pygge wyth bread and drincke all gonne, made a greate exclamation, for they knewe not who had the same.

¶ The Counstable returning and hearinge the lamentable wordes of the good wyfe, howe she had lost both meate and drinke, and sawe it was so in deede, hée laughed in his sleue, and commaunded her to dresse no more at vnlawfull houres for any gestes. For hée thought it better bestowed vppon those smell feastes his poore neigh-

[1] Castynge of axtre & eke of ston,
Sofere hem þere to vse non;
Bal, and barres, and suche play,
Out of chycheȝorde put a-way.—
Myre, p. 11, l. 334-7 (E. E. T. Soc. 1868)

[2] Printed *hts*

[3] *to to.* B.

boures then vppon suche sturdye Lubbares. The nexte mornynge betymes the [leaf 13, back] spitte and pottes were sette at the Spittle house doore for the owner. Thus were these Factours begyled of theyr breakefast, and one of them hadde well beaten an other; "And, by my trouth," (quoth thys Counstable) "I was gladde when I was well ryd of them." "Why," quoth I, "coulde the[y] caste the barre and sledge well?" "I wyll tell you, syr," (quoth hée) "you knowe there hath bene manye games this Sommer. I thinke verely, that if some of these Lubbars had bene there, and practysed amongest others, I beleue they woulde haue carryed awaye the beste games. For they were so stronge and sturdye, that I was not able to stande in their handes." "Well" (quoth I) "at these games you speake of, both legges and armes bée tryed." "Yea," quoth this offycer, "they bée wycked men. I haue séene some of them sithens wyth cloutes bounde aboute theyr legges, and haltynge wyth their staffe in their handes. Wherefore some of theym, by GOD, bee nought all."

¶ A ABRAHAM MAN. Cap. 9.

THese Abrahom men be those that fayne themselues to haue beene mad, and haue bene kept eyther in Bethelem or in some other pryson a good tyme, *and* not one amongst twenty that euer came in pryson for any such cause: yet wyll they saye howe pitiously and most extreamely they haue bene beaten, and dealt with all. Some of these be merye and verye pleasant, they wyll daunce and sing; some others be as colde and reasonable to talke wyth all. These begge money; eyther when they come at Farmours howses they wyll demaunde Baken, eyther chéese, or wooll, or any thinge that is worthe money. And if they espye small company within, they wyll with fierce countenaunce demaund some what. Where for feare the maydes wyll geue theym largely to be ryd of theym.

¶ If they maye conuenyently come by any cheate, they wyl picke and steale, as the v[p]right man or Roge, poultrey or lynnen. And all wemen that wander bée at their commaundemente. Of all that euer I saw of this kynde, one naminge him selfe Stradlynge is the craftiest and moste dyssemblyngest Knaue.

Hée is able wyth hys tounge and vsage to deceaue and abuse the wysest man that is. And surely for the proporcion of his body, with euery member there vnto appertayninge, it cannot be a mended. But as the prouerbe is "God hath done his part." Thys Stradlyng sayth he was the Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed, for very pensiuenes of mynde, [leaf 14] he fell out of his wytte, and so continued a yeare after and more; and that with the very gréefe and feare, he was taken wyth a marueilous palsey, that both head and handes wyll shake when he talketh, with anye and that a pase or fast, where by he is much pytied, and getteth greately. And if I had not demaunded of others, bothe men and women, that commonly walketh as he doth, and knowen by them his déepe dissimylation, I neuer hadde vnderstand the same. And thus I end wyth these kynde of vacabondes.

¶ A FRESHE WATER MARINER OR WHIPIACKE. Cap. 10.

THese Freshwater Mariners, their shipes were drowned in the playne of Salisbery. These kynde of Caterpillers counterfet great losses on the sea; these bée some Western men, and most bée Irishe men. These wyll runne about the countrey wyth a counterfet lycence, fayninge either shypwracke, or spoyled by Pyrates, neare the coaste of Cornwall or Deuonshyre, and set a lande at some hauen towne there, hauynge a large and formall wrytinge, as is aboue sayd, with the names and seales of suche men of worshyppe, at the leaste foure or fiue, as dwelleth neare or next to the place where they fayne their landinge. And neare to those shieres wyll they not begge, vntyll they come into Wylshyre, Hamshyre, Barkeshyre, Oxfordshyre, Harfordshyre, Middelsex, and so[1] to London, and downe by the ryuer to séeke for their shyppe and goods that they neuer hade: then passe they through Surrey, Sossex, by the sea costes, and so into Kent, demaunding almes to bring them home to their country.

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the seale of the Admiraltie. I haue diuers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes, wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the same to the pouerty nigh adioyninge to me. And they wyll not

[1] Omitted in 1573.

beelonge with out another. For at anye good towne they wyll renewe the same. Once wyth muche threatninge and faire promises, I required to knowe of one companye who made their lycence. And they sweare that they bought the same at Portsmouth, of a Mariner there, and it cost them[1] two shillinges; with such warrantes to be so good and efectuall, that if any of the best men of lawe, or learned, aboute London, should peruse the same, they weare able to fynde no faute there with, but would assuredly allow the same.

[1] *him* (*sic*). B.

[leaf 14, back] [1]

These two pyctures, lyuely set out,
One bodye and soule, god send him more grace.
This mounstrous desembelar, a Cranke all about.
Vncomly couetinge, of eche to imbrace,
Money or wares, as he made his race.
And sometyme a marynar, and a saruinge man,
Or els an artificer, as he would fayne than.
Such shyftes he vsed, beinge well tryed,
A bandoninge labour, tyll he was espyed.
Conding punishment, for his dissimulation,
He sewerly receaued with much declination [2]

[1] This page is not in Bodley ed. [2] 1573 reads *exclamation*

[leaf 15] ¶ A COUNTERFET CRANKE. Cap. 11.

THese that do counterfet the Cranke be yong knaues and yonge harlots, that depely dissemble the falling sicknes. For the Cranke in their language is the falling euyll. I haue séene some of these with fayre writinges testimoniall, with the names and seales of some men of worshyp in Shropshyre, and in other Shieres farre of, that I haue well knowne, and haue taken the same from them. Many of these do go without writinges, and wyll go halfe naked, and looke most pitiously. And if any clothes be geuen them, the[y][1] immediatly sell the same, for weare it they wyll not, because they would bée the more pitied, and weare fylthy clothes on their heades, and neuer go without a péece of whyte sope about them, which, if they sée cause or present gaine, they wyll priuely conuey the same into their mouth, and so worke the same there, that they wyll fome as it were a Boore, *and* maruelously for a tyme torment them selues ; and thus deceiue they the common people, and gayne much. These haue commonly their harlots as the other.

Apon Alhollenday in the morning last Anno domini. 1566, or my[2] booke was halfe printed, I meane the first impression, there came earely in the morninge a Counterfet Cranke vnder my lodgynge at the whyte Fryares, wythin the cloyster, in a lyttle yard or coorte, where aboutes laye two or thre great Ladyes, beyng without the lyberties of London, where by he hoped for the greatter gayne ; this Cranke there lamentably lamentinge and pitefully crying to be releued, declared to dyuers their hys paynfull and miserable dysease. I being rysen and not halfe ready, harde his dolfull wordes and rufull mornings, hering him name the falling sicknes, thought assuredlye to my selfe that hée was a depe desemblar ; so, comminge out at a sodayne, and beholdinge his vgly and yrksome attyre, hys lothsome and horyble countinance, it made me in a meruelous parplexite what to thinke of hym, whether it were fayned or trouth,—for after this manner went he : he was naked from the wast vpward, sauyng he had a old Ierken[3] of leather patched, and that was lose[4] about hym, that all his bodye laye out bare ; a filthy foule cloth he ware on his head,

[1] *they*. B. [2] *my my*. B. [3] *gyrken* (*et seqq.*). B. [4] *loose*. B.

being cut for the purpose, hauing a narowe place to put out his face, with a bauer made to trusse vp his beard, and a stryng that tyed the same downe close aboute his necke; with an olde felt hat which he styll caried in his hande to receaue the charytye and deuotion of the people, for that woulde he hold out from hym; hauyng hys face, from the eyes downe ward, all smerd with freshe bloud, [leaf 15, back] as thoughe he had new falen, and byn tormented wyth his paynefull panges,—his Ierken beinge all be rayde with durte and myre, and hys hatte and hosen also, as thoughe hée hadde wallowed in the myre: sewerly the sighte was monstrous and terreble. I called hym vnto me, and demaunded of hym what he ayled. "A, good maister," quoth he, "I haue the greuous and paynefull dyseas called the falynge syckenes." "Why," quoth I, "howe commeth thy Ierken, hose, and hat so be rayd with durte and myre, and thy skyn also?" "A, good master, I fell downe on the backesyde here in the fowle lane harde by the watersyde; and there I laye all most all night, and haue bled all most all the bloude owte in my bodye." It raynde that morninge very fast; and whyle I was thus talkinge with hym, a honest poore woman that dwelt thereby brought hym a fayre lynnen cloth, and byd hym wype his face therewyth; and there beinge a tobbe standing full of rayne water, offered to geue hym some in a dishe that he might make hym selfe cleane: hée refuseth[1] the same. "Why dost thou so?" quoth I. "A, syr," sayth he, "yf I shoulde washe my selfe, I shoulde fall to bléedinge a freshe againe, and then I should not stop my selfe:" these wordes made me the more to suspecte hym.

Then I asked of hym where he was borne, what is name was, how longe he had this dysease, and what tyme he had ben here about London, and in what place. "Syr," saythe he, "I was borne at Leycestar, my name is Nycholas Genings,[2] and I haue had this falling sycknes viij. yeares, and I can get no remedy for the same; for I haue it by kinde, my father had it and my friendes before me; and I haue byne these two yeares here about London, and a yeare and a halfe in bethelem." "Why, wast thou out of thy wyttes?" quoth I. "Ye, syr, that I was."

[1] *refused.* B. [2] *Gennins.* B.

"What is the Kepars name of the house?" "Hys name is," quoth hée, "Iohn Smith." "Then," quoth I, "hée must vnderstande of thy dysease; yf thou hadest the same for the tyme thou wast there, he knoweth it well." "Ye, not onely he, but all the house bée syde," quoth this Cranke; "for I came thens but within this fortnight." I had stande so longe reasoning the matter wyth him that I was a cold, and went into my chamber and made me ready, and commaunded my seruant to repayre to bethelem, and bringe me true worde from the keper there whether anye suche man hath byn with him as a prisoner hauinge the dysease aforesayd, and gaue hym a note of his name and the kepars also: my seruant, retorninge to my lodginge, dyd assure me that neither was there euer anye such man there, nether yet anye keper of any suche name; but hée that was there keper, he sent me hys name in writing, afferming that hee letteth no man depart from hym vnlesse he be fet a waye by [leaf 16] hys fréendes, and that none that came from hym beggeth aboute the Citye. Then I sent for the Printar of this booke, and shewed hym of this dyssembling Cranke, and how I had sent to Bethelem to vnderstand the trouth[1], and what aunsweare I receaued againe, requiringe hym that I might haue some seruant of his to watche him faithfully that daye, that I might vnderstand trustely to what place he woulde repaire at night vnto, and thether I promised to goe my selfe to sée their order, and that I woulde haue hym to associate me thether: hée gladly graunted to my request, and sent two boyes, that both diligently and vygelantly accomplisht the charge geuen them, and found the same Cranke aboute the Temple, where about the most parte of the daye hée begged, vnlesse it weare about xii. of the clocke he wente on the backesyde of Clementes Ine without Temple barre: there is a lane that goeth into the Feldes; there hee renewed his face againe wyth freshe bloud, which he caried about hym in a bladder, and dawbed on freshe dyrte vpon his Ierken, hat, and hoson.

¶ And so came backe agayne vnto the Temple, and sometyme to the Watersyde, and begged of all that passed bye: the boyes behelde howe some gaue grotes, some syxe pens, some gaue more;

[1] *trough.* B.

for hée looked so ougleie and yrksomlye, that euerye one pytied his miserable case that beehelde hym. To bee shorte, there he passed all the daye tyll night approched; and when it began to bée some what dark, he went to the water syde and toke a Skoller,[1] and was sette ouer the Water into Saincte Georges feldes, contrarye to my expectatian; for I had thought he woulde haue gonne into Holborne or to Saynt Gylles in the felde; but these boyes, with Argues and Lynces eyes, set sewre watche vppon him, and the one tooke a bote and followed him, and the other went backe to tell his maister.

The boye that so folowed hym by Water, had no money to pay for his Bote hyre, but layde his Penner and his Ynkhorne to gage for a penny; and by that tyme the boye was sette ouer, his Maister, wyth all celeryte, hadde taken a Bote and followed hym apase: now hadde they styll a syght of the Cranke, wych crossed ouer the felddes towardes Newyngton, and thether he went, and by that tyme they came thether it was very darke: the Prynter hadde there no acquaintance, nether any kynde of weapon about hym, nether knewe he[2] how farre the Cranke woulde goe, becawse hee then suspected that they dogged hym of purposse; he there stayed hym, and called for the Counstable, whyche came forthe dylygentelye to inquyre what the matter was: thys zelous Pryntar charged thys offycer [leaf 16, back] wyth hym as a malefactor and a dessemblinge vagabonde—the Counstable woulde haue layde him all night in the Cage that stode in the streate. "Naye," saythe this pitifull Prynter, "I praye you haue him into your house; for this is lyke to be a cold nyght, and he is naked: you kepe a vytellinge house; let him be well cherished this night, for he is well hable to paye for the same. I knowe well his gaynes hath byn great to day, and your house is a sufficient pryson for the tyme, and we wil there serche hym. The Counstable agreed there vnto: they had him in, and caused him to washe him selfe: that donne, they demaunded what money he had about hym. Sayth this Cranke, "So God helpe me, I haue but xii. pence," and plucked oute the same of a lytle pursse. "Why, haue you no more?" quoth they. "No," sayth this Cranke, "as God shall saue my soule at the day of iudgement." "We must se more," quoth they,

[1] 1573 reads *skolloer* [2] Omitted in 1573 edit.

and began to stryp hym. Then he plucked out a nother purse, wherin was xl. pens. "Toushe," sayth[1] thys Prynter, "I must see more." Saythe this Cranke, "I pray God I bée dampned both body[2] and soule yf I haue anye more." "No," sayth thys Prynter, "thou false knaue, here is my boye that dyd watche thée all this daye, and sawe when such men gaue the péeses of sixe pens, grotes, and other money; and yet thou hast shewed vs none but small money." When thys Cranke hard this, and the boye vowinge it to his face, he relented, and plucked out another pursse, where in was eyght shyllings and od money; so had they in the hole *that* he had begged that day xiij. shillings iii. [3]pens halfepeny[3]. Then they strypt him starke naked, and as many as sawe him sayd they neuer sawe hansommer man, wyth a yellowe flexen beard[4], and fayre skynned, withoute anye spot or greffe. Then the good wyfe of the house fet her goodmans[5] olde clocke, *and* caused the same to be cast about him, because the sight shoulde not abash her shamefast maydens, nether loth her squaymysh sight.

Thus he set[6] downe at the Chemnes end, and called for a potte of Béere, and dranke of a quarte at a draft, and called for another, and so the thyrde, that one had bene sufficient for any resonable man, the Drynke was so stronge.[7] I my selfe, the next morninge, tasted thereof; but let the reader iudge what and howe much he would haue dronke and he had bene out of feare. Then when they had thus wrong water out of a flint in spoyl*ing* him of his euyl gotten goods, his pass*ing* pens[8], *and* fleting trashe, The printer with this offecer were in gealy gealowsit[9], and deuised to search a barne for some roges and vpright men, a quarter of a myle from the house, that stode a lone in the fieldes, and wente out about their busines, leauing this cranke alone with his wyfe and maydens: this crafty Cra*n*ke, espying al gon, requested *th*e good wife that [leaf 17] hee might goe out on the backesyde to make water, and to exonerate his paunche: she bad hym drawe the lache of the dore and goe out, neither thinkinge or mistrusting he

[1] *sayih* (*sic*). B. [2] printed *dody* [3–3] *d. ob.* B. [4] *bede.* B.
[5] *mans.* B. [6] 1573 inserts *him; sette hym.* B. [7] 1573 inserts *that*
[8] *pence.* B. [9] The 1573 edition reads *ioly ioylitie; gelowsy.* B.

would haue gon awaye naked; but, to conclude, when hee was out, he cast awaye the cloke, and, as naked as euer he was borne, he ran away, [1] that he could [2] neuer be hard of [3] againe.[1] Now [3] the next morning betimes, I went vnto Newington, to vnderstand what was done, because I had word or it was day that there my printer was; and at my comming thether, I hard the hole circumstaunce, as I aboue haue wrytten; and I, seing the matter so fall out, tooke order with the chiefe of the parish that this xiij. shyllings *and* iij. [4] pens halfpeny [4] might the next daye be equally distributed, by their good discrecions, to the pouertie of the same parishe,[5] and so it was done.

[1] The 1573 edition finishes the sentence thus:—"ouer the fields to his own house, as hée afterwards said."

[2] *woulde.* B. [3–3] *again til now.* B. [4–4] *d. ob.* B.

[5] The 1573 edition continues thus:—"wherof this crafty Cranke had part him selfe, for he had both house and wife in the same parishe, as after you shall heare. But this lewde lewterar could not laye his bones to labour, hauing got once the tast of this lewd lasy lyfe, for al this fayr admonition, but deuised other suttel sleights to maintaine his ydell liuing, and so craftely clothed him selfe in mariners apparel, and associated him self with an other of his companions: they hauing both mariners apparel, went abroad to aske charity of *the* people, fayning they hadde loste their shippe with all their goods by casualty on the seas, wherewith they gayned much. This crafty Cranke, fearinge to be mistrusted, fell to another kinde of begging, as bad or worse, and apparelled himselfe very well with a fayre black fréese cote, a new payre of whyte hose, a fyne felt hat on his head, a shert of flaunders worke esteemed to be worth xvi. shillings; and vpon newe yeares day came againe into the whyt Fryers to beg: the printer, hauing occasion to go that ways, not thinking of this Cranke, by chaunce met with him, who asked his charitie for Gods sake. The printer, vewing him well, did mistrust him to be the counterfet Cranke which deceuied him vpon Alhollen daye at night, demaunded of whence he was and what was his name, 'Forsoth,' saith he, 'my name is Nicolas Genings, and I came from Lecester to séeke worke, and I am a hat-maker by my occupation, and all my money is spent, and if I coulde get money to paye for my lodging this night, I would seke work to morowe amongst the hatters.' The printer perceiuing his depe dissimulation, putting his hand into his purse, seeming to giue him some money, and with fayre allusions brought him into the stréete, where he charged the constable with him, affirminge him to be the counterfet Cranke that ranne away vpon Alholon daye last. The constable being very loth to medle with him, but the printer knowing him and his depe disceit, desyred he mought be brought before the debutie of the ward, which straight was accomplished, which when he came before the debuty, he demaunded of him of whence he was and what was his name; he answered as before he did vnto *the* printer: the debutie asked the printer what he woulde laye vnto hys charge; he answered and aleged him to be a vagabond and depe deceyuer of the people, and the counterfet Crank that ran away vpon Alhallon day last from the constable of Newington and him, and requested him earnestly to send him to ward: the debuty thinking him to be deceiued, but

¶ A DOMMERAR. Cap. 12.

THese Dommerars are leud and most subtyll people: the moste part of these are Walch men, and wyll neuer speake, vnlesse they haue extreame punishment, but wyll gape, and with a maruelous force wyll hold downe their toungs doubled, groning for your charyty, and holding vp their handes full pitiously, so that with their déepe dissimulation they get very much. There are of these many, *and* but one that I vnderstand of hath lost his toung in dede. Hauing on a time occasion to ride to Dartforde, to speake with a priest there, who maketh all kinde of conserues very well, and vseth stilling of waters; And repayringe to his house, I founde a Dommerar at his doore, and the priest him selfe perusinge his[1] lycence, vnder the seales and hands of certayne worshypfull men, had[2] thought the same to be good and effectuall. I taking the same writing, and

neuerthelesse laid his commaundement vpon him, so that the printer should beare his charges if he could not iustifie it; he agréed thereunto. And so he and the constable went to cary him to the Counter; and as they were going vnder Ludgate, this crafty Cranke toke his héeles and ran down the hill as fast as he could dryve, the constable and the printer after him as fast as they coulde; but the printer of *the* twayn being lighter of fote, ouertoke him at fleete bridge, and with strong hand caried him to the counter, and safely deliuered him. In *the* morow *the* printer sent his boy that stripped him vpon Alhalon day at night to view him, because he would be sure, which boy knew him very well: this Crank confessed unto the debuty, *that* he had hosted the night before in Kent stréet in Southwarke, at the sign of the Cock, which thing to be true, the printer sente to know, and found him a lyer; but further inquiring, at length found out his habitation, dwelling in maister Hilles rentes, hauinge a pretye house, well stuffed, with a fayre ioyne table, and a fayre cubbard garnished with peuter, hauing an old auncient woman to his wyfe. The printer being sure therof, repaired vnto the Counter, and rebuked him for his beastly behaviour, and told him of his false fayning, willed him to confesse it, and aske forgivenes: he perceyued him to know his depe dissimulation, relented, and confessed all his disceit; and so remayning in the counter thrée dayes, was removed to Brydwel, where he was strypt starke naked, and his ougly attyre put vpon him before the maisters thereof, who wondered greatly at his dissimulation: for which offence he stode vpon the pillery in Cheapsyde, both in his ougly and handsome attyre. And after that went in the myll whyle his ougly picture was a drawing; and then was whypped at a cartes tayle through London, and his displayd banner caried before him vnto his own dore, and so backe to Brydewell again, and there remayned for a tyme, and at length let at libertie, on that condicion he would proue an houest man, and labour truly to get his liuing. And his picture remayneth in Bridewell for a monyment." —See, also, *post*, p. 89.

[1] *of his.* B. [2] *which priest had.* B.

reading it ouer, and noting the seales, founde one of the seales like vnto a seale that I had aboute me, which seale I bought besides Charing crosse, that I was out of doubte it was none of those Gentlemens seales that had sub[s]cribed. And hauing vnderstanding before of their peuish practises, made me to conceaue that all was forged and nought. I made the more hast home; for well I wyst that he would and must of force passe through the parysh where I dwelt; for there was no other waye for hym. And comminge homeworde, I found them in the towne, accordinge to my expectation, where they were staid; for there was a Pallyarde associate with the Dommerar and partaker of his gaynes, whyche Pallyarde I sawe not at Dartford. The stayers of them was a gentleman called[1] *Chayne*, and a seruant of my Lord Kéepers, cald *Wostestowe*, which was [leaf 17, back] the chiefe causer of the staying of them, being a Surgien, *and* cunning in his science, had séene the lyke practises, and, as he sayde, hadde caused one to speake afore that was dome[2]. It was my chaunce to come at the begynning of the matter. "Syr," (quoth this Surgien) "I am bold here to vtter some part of my cunning. I trust" (quoth he) "you shall se a myracle wrought anon. For I once" (quoth he) "made a dumme man to speake." Quoth I, "you are wel met, and somwhat you haue preuented me; for I had thought to haue done no lesse or they hadde passed this towne. For I well knowe their writing is fayned, and they depe dissemblers." The Surgien made hym gape, *and* we could sée but halfe a toung. I required the Surgien to put hys fynger in his mouth, *and* to pull out his toung, and so he dyd, not withstanding he held strongly a prety whyle; at the length he pluckt out the same, to the great admiration of many that stode by. Yet when we sawe his tounge, hée would neither speake nor yet could heare. Quoth I to the Surgien, "knit two of his fyngers to gether, and thrust a stycke betwene them, and rubbe the same vp and downe a lytle whyle, and for my lyfe hée speaketh by and by." "Sir," quoth this Surgien, "I praye you let me practise and[3] other waye." I was well contented to sée the same. He had him into a house, and tyed a halter aboute the wrestes of his handes, and hoysed him vp ouer a beame, and

[1] *cal-* (*sic*). B. [2] *dumme*. B. [3] So printed. *an*. B.

there dyd let him hang a good while: at *the* length, for very paine he required for Gods sake to let him down. So he that was both deafe and dume coulde in short tyme both heare and speake. Then I tooke that money I could find in his pursse, and distributed the same to the poore people dwelling there, whiche was xv. pence halfe-peny, being all that we coulde finde. That done, and this merry myracle madly made, I sent them with my seruaunt to the next Iusticer, where they preached on the Pyllery for want of a Pulpet, and were well whypped, and none dyd bewayle them.

¶ A DRONKEN TINCKAR. Cap. 13.

THese dronken Tynckers, called also Prygges, be beastly people, *and* these yong knaues be *the* wurst. These neuer go *with* out their Doxes, and yf their women haue anye thing about them, as apparell or lynnen, that is worth the selling, they laye the same to gage, or sell it out right, for bene bowse at their bowsing ken. And full sone wyll they bée wearye of them, and haue a newe. When they happen one woorke at any good house, their Doxes lynger alofe, and tarry for them in some corner; and yf he taryeth longe from her, then she knoweth [leaf 18] he hath worke, and walketh neare, and sitteth downe by him. For besydes money, he looketh for meate and drinke for doinge his dame pleasure. For yf she haue thrée or foure holes in a pan, hee wyll make as many more for spedy gaine. And if he se any old ketle, chafer, or pewter dish abroad in the yard where he worketh, hée quicklye snappeth the same vp, and in to the booget it goeth round. Thus they lyue with deceite.

¶ I was crediblye informed, by such as could well tell, that one of these tipling Tinckers *with* his dogge robbed by the high way iiij. Pallyards and two Roges, six persons together, and tooke from them aboue foure pound in ready money, *and* hide him after in a thicke woode a daye or two, and so escaped vntaken. Thus with picking and stealing, mingled with a lytle worke for a coulour, they passe their time.

¶ A SWABBER, OR PEELER. Cap. 14.

These Swabbers and Peelers bee not all evyll, but of an indifferent behaviour. These stand in great awe of the vyright men, for they have often both wares and money of them. But for as much as they sticke payne vnlawfully against the lawes and statutes of this noble realme, they are well worthy to be registred among the number of vacabonds; and vnhappily I have halde some of them brought before me, when I was in commission of the peace, as malefactors, for beyberinge and stealinge. And some of hee is a greate peaceer of the vyright man, when he hath gotten a boye, to bestowe the same vpon a packefull of wares, and so goeth a time for his pleasure, because he would lyve with out suspition.

¶ A LARKE MAN, AND A PATRIDO. Cap. 15.

FOR as much as these two names, a Larkeman and a Patrico, bee in the old bridle of vacabonds, and set forth as two kyndes of evil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Larkeman hathe his name of a Larke, which is a seale in their Language, as one should make writinges and set seales for lyrences and pasporte[1]. And for trouth there is none that goeth abouze the countrey of them that can eyther wryte so good and fayre a hand, either indite so learnedly, as I have sene and handeled a number of them: but have the same made in good townes where they come, as what can not be hadde for money, as the proverbe sayth ("*Omnia venalia Romæ*"), and manye hath confessed the same to me. Now, alas, there is a Patrico, and not a Patriarcho[2], whiche in their language is a priest that should make mariages tyll death dyd depart; but they have none such, I am well assured; for I put you out of doube that not one amo[n]gest a hundreth of them are maried, for they take lechery for no sinne, but naturall fellowshyp and good lyking love: so that I wyll not blot my boke with these two that be naw.

[1] *pasportes.* B. [2] *Patriarch.* B.

¶ A DEMAUNDER FOR GLYMMAR. Cap. 16.

THese Demaunders for glymmar be for the moste parte wemen; for glymmar, in their language, is fyre. These goe with fayned[1] lycences and counterfayted wrytings, hauing the hands and seales of suche gentlemen as dwelleth nere to the place where they fayne them selues to haue bene burnt, and their goods consumed with fyre. They wyll most lamentable[2] demaunde your charitie, *and* wyll quicklye shed salte teares, they be so tender harted. They wyll neuer begge in that Shiere where their losses (as they say) was. Some of these goe with slates at their backes, which is a shéete to lye in a nightes. The vpright men be very familiare with these kynde of wemen, and one of them helpes an other.

¶ A Demaunder for glymmar came vnto a good towne in Kente, to aske the charitie of the people, hauinge a fayned lycens aboute her that declared her misfortune by fyre, donne in Somerset shyre, walkinge with a wallet on her shoulders, where in shée put the deuotion of suche as hadde no money to geue her; that is to saye, Malte, woll, baken, bread, and cheese; and alwayes, as the same was full, so was it redye money to her, when she emptyed the same, where so euer shee trauelede: thys harlot was, as they terme it, snowte fayre, and had an vpright man or two alwayes attendinge on her watche (whyche is on her parson), and yet so circumspecte, that they woulde neuer bee séene in her company in any good towne, vnlesse it were in smale vyllages where typling houses weare, eyther trauelinge to gether by the hygh wayes; but *the* troth is, by report, she would wekely be worth vi. or seuen shyllinges with her begging and bycherye. This glimmering Morte, repayringe to an Ine in *the* sayde towne where dwelt a wydow of fyftie wynter olde of good welth; but she had an vnthryftye sonne, whom she vsed as a chamberlaine to attend gestes when they repared to her house: this amerous man, be holdinge with ardante eyes thys[3] glymmeringe glauncer, was presentlye pyteouslye persed to the hart, and lewdlye longed to bée clothed vnder her lyuerye; and bestowinge [leaf 19] a

[1] *faynen.* B. [2] *lamentably.* B.
[3] *beholding this.* B.

fewe fonde wordes with her, vnderstode strayte that she woulde be easlye perswaded to lykinge lechery, and as a man mased, mused howe to attayne to his purpose, for[1] he hadde no money. Yet consideringe wyth hym selfe that wares woulde bée welcome where money wanted, hée went with a wannion to his mothers chamber, and there sekinge aboute for odde endes, at length founde a lytle whystell of syluer that his mother dyd vse customablye to weare on, and had forgot the same for haste that morninge, and offeres the same closely to this manerly marian, that yf she would mete hym on the backesyde of the towne and curteously kys him with out constraynt, she shoulde bée mystres thereof, and it weare much better. "Well," sayth she, "you are a wanton;" and beholdinge the whystell, was farther in loue there with then rauysht wyth his person, and agred to mete him presently, and to accomplyshe his fonde fancy:—to be short, and not tedyous, a quarter of a myle from the towne, he merely toke measure of her vnder a bawdye bushe; so she gaue hym that she had not, and he receiued that he coulde not; and taking leue of eche other with a curteous kysse, she plesantly passed forth one her iornaye, *and* this vntoward lycorous chamberlayne repayred home warde. But or these two tortylles tooke there leue, the good wyfe myssed her whystell, and sent one of her maydenes in to her chamber for the same, and being long sawght for, none coulde be founde; her mystres hering that, diligent search was made for the same; and that it was taken awaye, began to suspecte her vnblessed babe, and demaunded of her maydens whether none of them sawe her sonne in her chamber that morning, and one of them aunswered that she sawe him not there, but comming from thens: then had she ynough, for well she wyste that he had the same, and sent for him, but he could not be founde. Then she caused her hosteler, in whome she had better affyaunce in for his trouth,—and yet not one amongst twenty of them but haue well left there honesty, (As I here a great sorte saye)—to come vnto her, whiche attended to knowe her pleasure. "Goe, seke out," saythe she, "my vntowarde sonne, and byd hym come speake with me." "I sawe him go out," saythe he, "halfe an houre

[1] *but.* B.

sithens one the backesyde. I hadde thought you hadde sent him of your arrante." "I sent him not," quoth she; "goe, loke him out."

¶ This hollowe hosteler toke his staffe in his necke, and trodged out apase that waye he sawe him before go, and had some vnderstanding, by one of the maydens, that his mistres had her whistell stolen *and* suspected her sonne; and he had not gone farre but that he espyed him comming homeward alone, and, meting him, axed where he had ben. [leaf 19, back] "Where haue I bene?" q*uoth* he, and began to smyle. "Now, by the mas, thou hast bene at some baudy banquet." "Thou hast euen tolde trouth," q*uoth* thys chamberlayne. "Sewerly," q*uoth* this hosteler, "thou haddest the same woman that begged at our house to day, for *the* harmes she had by fyre: where is she?" q*uoth* he. "She is almost a myle by this tyme," q*uoth* this chamberlayne. "Where is my mystres whystell?" quoth this hosteler; "for I am well assured that thou haddest it, and I feare me thou hast geuen it to that harlot." "Why! is it myssed?" quoth this chamberlayne. "Yea," q*uoth* this hosteler, and shewed him all the hole circumstaunce, what was both sayde and thought on him for the thing. "Well, I wyl tell the," quoth this Chamberlayne. "I wylbe playne with the. I had it in dede, and haue geuen the same to this woman, and I praye the make the best of it, and helpe nowe to excuse the matter, and yet surely and thou wouldest take so much payne for me as to ouer take her, (for she goeth but softly, and is not yet farre of) and take the same from her, and I am euer thyne assured fréende." "Why, then, go with me," quoth this hostler. "Nay, in faythe," quoth this Chamberlayne; "what is frear then gift? and I hadde prety pastime for the same." "Hadest thou so?" quoth this hosteler; "nowe, by the masse, and I wyll haue some to, or I wyll lye in the duste or I come agayne." Passing with hast to ouer take this paramoure, within a myle from *the* place where he departed he ouertoke her, hauing an vpright man in her company, a stronge and a sturdye vacabond: some what amased was this hosteler to se one familiarly in her company, for he had well hopped to haue had some delycate dalyance, as his fellowe hadde; but, seinge the matter so fallout, and being of

good corage, and thinking to him selfe that one true man was better then two false knaues, and being on the high way, thought vpon helpe, if nede had bene, by such as had passed to and fro, Demaunded fersely the whistell that she had euyn nowe of his fellowe. "Why, husband," quoth she, "can you suffer this wretche to slaunder your wyfe?" "A vaunt verlet," quoth this vpright man, and letes dryue with all his force at this hosteler, and after halfe[1] a dosen blowes, he strycks his staffe out of his hande, and as this hosteler stept backe to haue taken vp his staffe agayne, his glymmeringe Morte flinges a great stone at him, and strake him one the heade that downe hee fales, wyth the bloud about his eares, and whyle hée laye this amased, the vpright man snatches awaye his pursse, where in hée hadde money of his mystresses as well as of his owne, and there let him lye, and went a waye with spede that they were neuer harde of more. When this drye beaten hosteler was come to him selfe, hée fayntlye wandereth home, and crepethe in to hys couche, and restes [leaf 20] his ydle heade: his mystres harde that hée was come in, and layde him downe on his beade, repayred straight vnto him, and aske hym what he ayled, and what the cause was of his so sudden lying one his bed. "What is the cause?" quoth this hosteler; "your whystell, your whistel,"—speaking the same pyteouslye thre or foure tymes. "Why, fole," quoth his mystrisse, "take no care for that, for I doe not greatly waye it; it was worth but thrée shyllinges foure pens." "I would it had bene burnt for foure yeares agon." "I praye the why so," quoth his mystres; "I think thou art mad." "Nay, not yet," quoth this hosteler, "but I haue bene madly handlyd." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres, and was more desirous to know the case. "*And* you wyl for geue my fellowe and me, I wyll shewe you, or els I wyll neuer doe it." Shée made hym presently faithfull promisse that shée woulde. "Then," saythe hee, "sende for your sonne home agayne, whyche is ashamed to loke you in the face." "I agre there to," sayth shée. "Well, then," quoth this hosteler, "youre sonne hathe geuen the same Morte that begged here, for the burninge of her house, a whystell, and you haue geuen her v. shyllinges in money,

[1] Omitted in 1573.

and I haue geuen her ten shyllinges of my owne." "Why, howe so?" quoth she. Then he sadly shewed her of his myshap, with all the circumstaunce that you haue harde before, and howe hys pursse was taken awaye, and xv. shyllinges in the same, where of v. shyllinges was her money and x. shyllinges his owne money. "Is this true?" quoth his mystres. "I, by my trouth," quoth this hosteler, "and nothing greues me so much, neyther my beating, neither the losse of my money, as doth my euell *and* wreched lucke." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres. "Your sonne," saythe this hosteler, "had some chere and pastyme for that whystell, for he laye with her, and I haue bene well beaten, and haue had my pursse taken from me, and you knowe your sonne is merrye and pleasaunt, and can kepe no great councell; and then shall I bemocked *and* loughed to skorne in all places when they shall here howe I haue bene serued." "Nowe, out vpon you knaues both," quoth his mystres, and laughes oute the matter; for she well sawe it would not other wyse preuayle.

¶ A BAWDY BASKET. Cap. 17.

THese Bawdy baskets be also wemen, and go with baskets and Capcases on their armes, where in they haue laces, pynnes, nedles, white ynkell, and round sylke gyrdles of al coulours. These wyl bye co*n*neyski*n*s,[1] *and* steale lin*e*n clothes of on hedges. And for their trifles they wil procure of mayden seruaunts, wh*e*n [leaf 20, back] their mystres or dame is oute of the waye, either some good peece of béefe, baken, or chéese, that shalbe worth xij. pens, for ii. pens of their toyes. And as they walke by the waye, they often gaine some money wyth their instrument, by such as they sodaynely mete withall. The vpright men haue good acquayntance with these, and will helpe and relieue them when they want. Thus they trade their lyues in lewed lothsome lechery. Amongest them all is but one honest woman, and she is of good yeares; her name is Ione Messenger. I haue had good proofe of her, as I haue learned by the true report of diuers.

[1] Rabbitskins

There came to my gate the last sommer, Anno Domini .1566, a very miserable man, and much deformed, as burnt in the face, blere eyde, and lame of one of his legges that he went with a crouche. I axed him wher he was borne, and where he dwelt last, and shewed him that thether he must repaire and be releued, and not to range aboute the countrey; and seing some cause of cherytie, I caused him to haue meate and drinke, and when he had dronke, I demaunded of him whether he was neuer spoyled of the vpright man or Roge. "Yes, that I haue," quoth he, "and not this seuen yeres, for so long I haue gon abroad, I had not so much taken from me, and so euyll handeled, as I was within these iiij. dayes." "Why, how so?" quoth I. "In good fayth, sir," quoth hée, "I chaunced to méete with one of these bawdy baskets which had an vpright man in her company, and as I would haue passed quietly by her, 'man,' sayth she vnto vnto her make, 'do you not se this ylfauored, windshaken knaue?' 'Yes,' quoth the vpright man; 'what saye you to him?' 'this knaue[1] oweth me ii. shyllings for wares that[2] he had of me, halfe a yere a go, I think it well.' Sayth this vpright man, 'syra,' sayth he, 'paye your dets.' Sayth this poore man, 'I owe her none, nether dyd I euer bargane with her for any thinge, and as this[3] aduysed I neuer sawe her before in all my lyfe.' 'Mercy, god!' quoth she, 'what a lyinge knaue is this, and he wil not paye you, husband, beat him suerly,' and the vpright man gaue me thre or foure blowes on my backe and shoulders, and would haue beat me worsse and I had not geuen hym all the money in my pursse, and in good fayth, for very feare, I was fayne to geue him xiiij. pens, which was all the money that I had. 'Why,' sayth this bawdy basket, 'hast thou no more? then thou oweest me ten pens styll; and, be well assured that I wyll bée payde the next tyme I méete with thée.' And so they let me passe by them. I praye god saue and blesse me, and al other in my case, from such wycked persons," quoth this poore man. "Why, whether went they then?" quoth I. "Into east Kent, for I mete with them on thyssyde of Rochester. I haue dyuers tymes bene attemted, but

[1] It meeteth sayth she. [2] Omitted in 1573. [3] 1573 reads *I am*

I neuer loste [leaf 21] much before. I thanke god, there came styll company by a fore this vnhappy time." "Well," quoth I, "thanke God of all, and repaire home into thy natyue countrey."

¶ A AUTEM MORT. Cap. 18.

THese Autem Mortes be maried wemen, as there be but a fewe. For Autem in their Language is a Churche; so she is a wyfe maried at the Church, and they be as chaste as a Cowe I haue, *that* goeth to Bull euery moone, with what Bull she careth not. These walke most times from their husbands companye a moneth and more to gether, being asociate with another as honest as her selfe. These wyll pylfar clothes of hedges: some of them go with children of ten or xii. yeares of age; yf tyme and place serue for their purpose, they wyll send them into some house, at the window, to steale and robbe, which they call in their language, Milling of the ken; and wil go *with* wallets on their shoulders, and slates at their backes. There is one of these Autem Mortes, she is now a widow, of fyfty yeres old; her name is Alice Milson: she goeth about with a couple of great boyes, the yongest of them is fast vpon xx. yeares of age; and these two do lye with her euery night, and she lyeth in the middes: she sayth that they be her children, that beteled be babes borne of such abhominable bellye.

¶ A WALKING MORT. Cap. 19.

THese walkinge Mortes bee not maryed: these for their vnhappye yeares doth go as a Autem Morte, and wyll saye their husbandes died eyther at Newhauen, Ireland, or in some seruice of the Prince. These make laces vpon staues, *and* purses, that they cary in their hands, and whyte vallance for beddes. Manye of these hath hadde and haue chyldren: when these get ought, either with begging, bychery, or brybery, as money or apparell, they are quickly shaken out of all by the vpright men, that they are in a maruelous feare to cary any thinge aboute them that is of any valure. Where fore, this pollicye they vse, they leaue their money now with one and then with a nother trustye housholders, eyther with the good man or good wyfe, some tyme in one shiere, and then in another, as they

trauell: this haue I knowne, *that* iiij. or v. shyllinges, yea x. shyllinges, lefte in a place, and the same wyll they come for againe within one quarter of a yeare, or some tyme not in halfe a yeare; and all this is to lytle purpose, for all their peuyshe [leaf 21, back] pollycy; for when they bye them lynnen or garmentse, it is taken awaye from them, and worsse geuen them, or none at all.

¶ The last Sommer, Anno domini .1566, being in familiare talke with a walking Mort that came to my gate, I learned by her what I could, and I thought I had gathered as much for my purpose as I desired. I began to rebuke her for her leud lyfe and beastly behauor, declaring to her what punishment was prepared and heaped vp for her in the world to come for her fylthy lyuinge and wretched conuersation. "God helpe," q*uoth* she, "how should I lyue? none wyll take me into seruice; but I labour in haruest time honestly." "I thinke but a whyle with honestie," q*uoth* I. "Shall I tell you," q*uoth* she, "the best of vs all may be amended; but yet, I thanke god, I dyd one good dede within this twelue mo*n*thes." "Wherein?" q*uoth* I. Sayth she, "I woulde not haue it spoken of agayne." "Yf it be méete and necessary," q*uo*d I, "it shall lye vnder my feete." "What meane you by that?" quoth she. "I meane," q*uo*d I, "to hide the same, and neuer to discouer it to any." "Well," q*uoth* she, and began to laugh as much as she could, and sweare by the masse that if I disclosed the same to any, she woulde neuer more[1] tell me any thinge. "The last sommer," q*uoth* she, "I was greate with chylde, and I traueled into east kent by the sea coste, for I lusted meruelously after oysters and muskels[2], and gathered many, and in *the* place where I found them, I opened them and eate them styll: at the last, in seking more, I reached after one, and stept into a hole, and fel in into the wast, and their dyd stycke, and I had bene drowned if the tide had come, and espyinge a man a good waye of, I cried as much as I could for helpe. I was alone, he hard me, and repaired as fast to me as he might, and finding me their fast stycking, I required for gods sake his helpe; and whether it was with stryuinge and forcing my selfe out, or for ioye I had of his comminge to me, I had a great couller in my face, and loked red and well

[1] Omitted in 1573. [2] *mussels.* B.

coullered. And, to be playne with you, hée lyked me so well (as he sayd) that I should there lye styll, and I would not graunt him, that he might lye with me. And, by my trouth, I wist not what to answeare, I was in such a perplexite; for I knew the man well: he had a very honest woman to his wyfe, and was of some welth; and, one the other syde, if I weare not holpe out, I should there haue perished, and I graunted hym that I would obeye to his wyll: then he plucked me out. And because there was no conuenient place nere hande, I required hym that I might go washe my selfe, and make me somewhat clenly, and I would come to his house and lodge all night in his barne, whether he mighte repaire to me, and accomplyshe hys desire, 'but let it not be,' quoth she,[1] 'before nine of the clocke at nyghte [leaf 22] for then there wylbe small styrring. And I may repaire to the towne,' q*uoth* she,[2] 'to warme and drye my selfe'; for this was about two of the clocke in the after none. 'Do so,' quoth hée; 'for I must be busie to looke oute my cattell here by before I can come home.' So I went awaye from hym, and glad was I." "And why so?" quoth I. "Because," quoth she, "his wyfe, my good dame, is my very fréend, and I am much beholdinge to her. And she hath donne me so much good or this, that I weare loth nowe to harme her any waye." "Why," quoth I, "what and it hadde béene any other man, and not your good dames husbande?" "The matter had bene the lesse," quoth shée. "Tell me, I pray the," quoth I, "who was the father of thy chylde?" She stodyd a whyle, and sayde that it hadde a father. "But what was hée?" quoth I. "Nowe, by my trouth, I knowe not," quoth shée; "you brynge me out of my matter so, you do." "Well, saye on," quoth I. "Then I departed strayght to the towne, and came to my dames house, And shewed her of my mysfortune, also of her husbands vsage, in all pointes, and that I showed her the same for good wyll, and byde her take better héede to her husbande, and to her selfe: so shée gaue me great thankes, and made me good chéere, and byd me in anye case that I should be redye at the barne at that tyme and houre we had apoynted; 'for I knowe well,' quoth this good wyfe, 'my husband wyll not breake wyth the. And one thinge I warne[3] the, that thou

[1] *he*, ed. 1573. [2] *I*, ed. 1573. [3] *warrant*. B.

geue me a watche worde a loud when hée goeth aboute to haue his pleasure of the, and that shall[1] bée "fye, for shame, fye," and I wyll bée harde by you wyth helpe. But I charge the kéepe thys secret vntyll all bee fynesed; and holde,' saythe thys good wyfe, 'here is one of my peticotes I geue thée.' 'I thanke you, good dame,' quoth I, 'and I warrante you I wyll bée true and trustye vnto you.' So my dame lefte me settinge by a good fyre with meate and drynke; and wyth the oysters I broughte with me, I hadde greate cheere: shée wente strayght and repaired vnto her gossypes dwelling there by; and, as I dyd after vnderstande, she made her mone to them, what a naughtye, lewed, lecherous husbande shée hadde, and howe that she coulde not haue hys companye for harlotes, and that she was in feare to take some fylthy dysease of hym, he was so commen a man, hauinge lytle respecte whome he hadde to do with all; 'and,' quoth she, 'nowe here is one at my house, a poore woman that goeth aboute the countrey that he woulde haue hadde to doe withall; wherefore, good neyghboures and louinge gossypes, as you loue me, and as you would haue helpe at my hand another tyme, deuyse some remedy to make my husband a good man, *that* I may lyue in some suerty without disease, and that hée may saue his soule that God so derelye [leaf 22, back] bought.' After shée hadde tolde her tale, they caste their persinge eyes all vpon her, but one stoute dame amongst the rest had these wordes—'As your pacient bearinge of troubles, your honest behauiour among vs your neyghbours, your tender and pytifull hart to the poore of the parysh, doth moue vs to lament your case, so the vnsatiable carnalite of your faithelesse husbande doth instigate and styre vs to deuyse and inuent some spéedy redresse for your ease[2] and the amendement of hys lyfe. Wherefore, this is my councell and you wyll bée aduertysed by me; for[3] I saye to you all, vnlesse it be this good wyfe, who is chéefely touched in this matter, I haue the nexte cause; for hée was in hande wyth me not longe a goe, and companye had not bene present, which was by a meruelous chaunce, he hadde, I thinke, forced me. For often hée hath bene tempering[4] with me, and yet haue I sharpely sayde him

[1] *should*. B. [2] 1573 reads *case* [3] Omitted in 1573. [4] 1573 reads *tempting*

naye: therefore, let vs assemble secretly into the place where hée hathe apuynted to méete thys gyllot that is at your house, and lyrke preuelye in some corner tyll hée begyn to goe aboute his busines. And then me thought I harde you saye euen nowe that you had a watche word, at which word we wyll all stepforth, being fiue of vs besydes you, for you shalbe none because it is your husbande, but gette you to bed at your accustomed houre. And we wyll cary eche of vs[1] good byrchen rodde in our lappes, and we will all be muffeled for knowing, and se that you goe home and acquaynt that walking Morte with the matter; for we must haue her helpe to hold, for alwaies foure must hold and two lay one.' 'Alas!' sayth this good wyfe, 'he is to stronge for you all. I would be loth, for my sake you should receaue harme at his hande.' 'feare you not,' q*uoth* these stout wemen, 'let her not geue the watch word vntyl his hosen be abaut his legges. And I trowe we all wylbe with him to bring before he shall haue leasure to plucke them vp againe.' They all with on voyce ag[r]ed to the matter, that the way she had deuised was the best: so this good wife repaired home; but before she departed from her gossypes, she shewed them at what houre they should preuely come in on *the* backsid, *and* where to tary their good our: so by *the* time she came in, it was all most night, and found the walking Morte still setting by the fyre, and declared to her all this new deuyse aboue sayd, which promised faythfully to full fyll to her small powre as much as they hadde deuysed: within a quarter of an oure after, in c*om*meth the good man, who said that he was about his cattell. "Why, what haue we here, wyfe, setting by the fyre? *and* yf she haue eate and dronke, send her into the barne to her lodging for this night, for she troubeleth the house." "Euen as you wyll husbande," sayth his wyfe; "you knowe she commeth once in two yeres into these [leaf 23] quarters. Awaye," saythe this good wyfe, "to your lodginge." "Yes, good dame," sayth she, "as fast as I can:" thus, by loking one[2] on the other, eche knewe others mynde, and so departed to her comely couche: the good man of the house shrodge hym for Ioye, thinking to hym selfe, I wyll make some pastyme with you anone. And calling to his wyfe for hys sopper, set

[1] B. inserts *a* [2] *non*. B.

him downe, and was very plesant, and dranke to his wyfe, *and* fell to his mammerings, and mounched a pace, nothing vnderstanding of the bancquet that[1] was a preparing for him after sopper, *and* according to the prouerbe, that swete meate wyll haue sowre sawce: thus, when he was well refreshed, his sprietes being reuyued, entred into familiare talke with his wife, of many matters, how well he had spent that daye to both there proffytes, sayinge some of his cattell[2] were lyke to haue bene drowned in the dyches, dryuinge others of his neyghbours cattell out that were in his pastures, *and* mending his fences that were broken downe. Thus profitably he had consumed the daye, nothinge talking of his helping out of the walkinge Morte out of the myre, nether of his request nor yet of her[3] promisse. Thus feding her *with* frendly fantacyes, consumed two houres and more. Then fayninge howe hée would se in what case his horse were in and howe they were dressed, Repaired couertly into the barne, where as his frée[n]dlye foes lyrked preuely, vnlesse it were this manerly Morte, that comly couched on a bottell of strawe. "What, are you come?" q*uoth* she; "by the masse, I would not for a hundreth pound that my dame should knowe that you were here, eyther any els of your house." "No, I warrant the," sayth this good man, "they be all safe and fast ynough at their woorke, and I wylbe at mine anon." And laye downe by her, and strayght would haue had to do w*ith* her. "Nay, fye," sayth she, "I lyke not this order: if ye lye with me, you shall surely vntrus you *and* put downe your hosen, for that way is most easiest and best." "Sayest thou so?" quoth he, "now, by my trouth agred." And when he had vntrussed him selfe and put downe, he began to assalt the vnsatiable[4] fort "Why," quoth she, that was with out shame, sauinge for her promes, "And are you not ashamed?" "neuer a whyte," sayth he, "lye downe quickely." "Now, fye, for shame, fye," sayth shée a loude, whyche was the watche word. At the which word, these fyue furious, sturdy, muffeled gossypes flynges oute, and takes sure holde of this be trayed parson, sone[5] pluckinge his hosen downe lower, and byndinge the same fast about his féete;

[1] B. omits *that* [2] B. inserts *that* [3] 1573 reads *his*
[4] B. reads *vnsanable*, or *vnsauable* [5] 1573 reads *some*

then byndinge his handes, and knitting a hande charcher about his eyes, that he shoulde not sée; and when they had made hym sure and fast, Then they layd him one vntyll they weare windles. "Be good," sayth this Morte, "vnto my maister, for the passion of God," [leaf 22, back] and layd on as fast as the rest, and styll seased not to crye vpon them to bée mercyfull vnto hym, and yet layde on a pace; and when they had well beaten hym, that the bloud braste plentifullye oute in most places, they lêt hym lye styll bounde. With this exhortation, that he shoulde from that tyme forth knowe his wyfe from other mens, and that this punishment was but a flebyting in respect of that which should followe, yf he amended not his manners. Thus leuynge hym blustering, blowing, and fominge for payne, and malyncolye that hée neither might or coulde be reuenged of them, they vanyshed awaye, and hadde thys Morte with them, and safely conuayde her out of the towne: sone after commeth into the barne one of the good mans boyes, to fet some haye for his horse. And fyndinge his maister lyinge faste bounde and greuouslye beaten with rodes, was sodenly abashed and woulde haue runne out agayne to haue called for helpe; but his maister bed hym come vnto hym and vnbynd hym; "and make no wordes," quoth he, "of this. I wylbe reuenged well inoughe;" yet not with standinge, after better aduyse, the matter beinge vnhonest, he thought it meter to let the same passe, and, not, as the prouerbe saythe, to awake the sleping dogge. "And, by my trouth," quoth this walkinge Morte, "I come nowe from that place, and was neuer there sythens this parte was playde, whiche is some what more then a yeare. And I here a very good reporte of hym now, that he loueth his wyfe well, and vseth hym selfe verye honestlye; and was not this a good acte? nowe, howe saye you?" "It was pretely handeled," quoth I, "and is here all?" "Yea," quoth she, "here is the ende."

¶ A Doxe. Cap. 20.

THese Doxes be broken and spoyled of their maydenhead by the vpright men, and then they haue their name of Doxes, and not afore. And afterwarde she is commen and indifferent for any that wyll vse her, as *homo* is a commen name to all men. Such

as be fayre and some what handsome, kepe company with the walkinge Mortes, and are redye alwayes for the vpright men, and are cheifely mayntayned by them, for others shalbe spoyled for their sakes: the other, inferior, sort wyll resorte to noble mens places, and gentlemens houses, standing at the gate, eyther lurkinge on the backeseyde about backe houses, eyther in hedge rowes, or some other thycket, expectinge their praye, which is for the vncomely company of some curteous gest, of whome they be refreshed with meate and some money, where eschaunge is made, ware for ware: this bread and meate they vse to carrye in their [leaf 24] greate hosen; so that these beastlye bryhinge[1] bréeches serue manye tymes for bawdye purposes. I chaunced, not longe sithens, familiarly to commen with a Doxe that came to my gate, and surelye a pleasant harlot, and not so pleasant as wytty, and not so wytty as voyd of all grace and goodnes. I founde, by her talke, that shée hadde passed her tyme lewdlye eyghttene yeares in walkinge aboute. I thoughte this a necessary instrument to attayne some knowledge by; and before I woulde grope her mynde, I made her both to eate and drynke well; that done, I made her faythfull promisse to geue her some money, yf she would open and dyscouer to me such questions as I woulde demaunde of her, and neuer to bée wraye her, neither to disclose her name. "And you shoulde," sayth she, "I were vndon:" "feare not that," quoth I; "but, I praye the," quoth I, "say nothing but trouth." "I wyll not," sayth shée. "Then, fyrste tell me," quoth I, "how many vpright men and Roges dost thou knowe, or hast thou knowne and byn conuersaunt with, and what their names be?" She paused a whyle, and sayd, "why do you aske me, or wherefore?" "For nothinge els," as I sayde, "but that I woulde knowe them when they came to my gate." "Nowe, by my trouth" (quoth she) "then are yea neuer the neare, for all myne acquayntaunce, for the moste parte, are deade." "Dead!" quoth I, "howe dyed they, for wante of cherishinge, or of paynefull diseases?" Then she sighed, and sayde they were hanged. "What, all?" quoth I, "and so manye walke abroade, as I dayelye see?" "By my trouth," quoth she, "I

[1] *bryberinge.* B.

knowe not paste six or seuen by their names," and named the same to me. "When were they hanged?" quoth I. "Some seuen yeares a gone, some thrée yeares, and some within this fortnight," and declared the place where they weare executed, which I knewe well to bée true, by the report of others. "Why" (quoth I) "dyd not this sorrowfull and fearefull sight much greue the, and for thy tyme longe and euyll spent?" "I was sory," quoth shée, "by the Masse; for some of them were good louing men. For I lackt not when they had it, and they wanted not when I had it, and diuers of them I neuer dyd forsake, vntyll the Gallowes departed vs." "O, mercyfull God!" quoth I, and began to blesse me. "Why blesse ye?" quoth she. "Alas! good gentleman, euery one muste haue a lyuinge." Other matters I talked of; but this nowe maye suffice to shewe the Reader, as it weare in a glasse, the bolde beastly lyfe of these Doxes. For suche as hath gone anye tyme abroade, wyll neuer forsake their trade, to dye therefore. I haue hadde good profe thereof. There is one, a notorious harlot, of this affinitye, called Besse Bottomelye; she hath but one hande, and she hath murthered two children at the least.

[leaf 24, back] ¶ A Dell. Cap. 21.

A Dell is a yonge wenche, able for generation, and not yet knowen or broken by the vpright man. These go abroade yong, eyther by the death of their parentes, and no bodye to looke vnto them, or els by some sharpe mystres that they serue, do runne away out of seruice; eyther she is naturally borne one, and then she is a wyld Dell: these are broken verye yonge; when they haue béene lyen with all by the vpright man, then they be Doxes, and no Dels. These wylde dels, beinge traded vp with their monstrous mothers, must of necessytie be as euill, or worsse, then their parents, for neither we gather grapes from gréene bryars, neither fygs from Thystels. But such buds, such blosoms, such euyll sede sowen, wel worsse beinge growen.

¶ A KYNCHIN MORTE. Cap. 22.

A Kynching Morte is a lytle Gyrle: the Mortes their mothers carries them at their backes in their slates, whiche is their shetes, and bryngs them vp sauagely[1], tyll they growe to be rype, and soone rype, soone rotten.

¶ A KYNCHEN CO. Cap. 23.

A Kynchen Co is a young boye, traden vp to suche peuishe purposes as you haue harde of other young ympes before, that when he groweth vnto yeres, he is better to hang then to drawe forth.

¶ THEIR VSAGE IN THE NIGHT. Cap. 24.

NOw I thinke it not vnnecessary to make the Reader vnderstand how and in what maner they lodge a nights in barnes or backe houses, and of their vsage there, for asmuch as I haue acquaynted them with their order and practises a day times. The arche and chiefe walkers that hath walked a long time, whose experience is great, because of their continuinge practise, I meane all Mortes and Doxes, for their handsomnes and diligence for making of their couches. The men neuer trouble them selues with *that* thing, but takes the same to be the dutye of *the* wyfe. And she shuffels vp a quayntitye of strawe or haye into some pretye carner of the barne [leaf 25] where she maye conueniently lye, and well shakethe the same, makinge the heade some what hye, and dryues the same vpon the sydes and fete lyke abed: then she layeth her wallet, or some other lytle pack of ragges or scrype vnder her heade in the strawe, to beare vp the same, and layethe her petycote or cloke vpon and ouer the strawe, so made lyke a bedde, and that serueth for the blancket. Then she layeth her slate, which is her sheete, vpon that; and she haue no shéete, as fewe of them goe without, then she spreddeth some large cloutes or rags ouer the same, and maketh her ready, and layeth her drouselye downe. Many wyll plucke of their smockes, and laye the same vpon them in stede of their vpper shéete, and all her other pelte and

[1] B. reads *safely*

trashe vpon her also; and many lyeth in their smockes. And if the rest of her clothes in colde weather be not sufficient to kepe her warme, then she taketh strawe or haye to performe the matter. The other sorte, that haue not slates, but toumble downe and couche a hogshead in their clothes, these bée styll lousye, and shall neuer be with out vermyn, vnlesse they put of theire clothes, and lye as is a boue sayde. If the vpright man come in where they lye, he hath his choyse, and crepeth in close by his Doxe: the Roge hath his leauings. If the Morts or Doxes lye or be lodged in some Farmers barne, and the dore be ether locked or made fast to them, then wyl not the vpright man presse to come in, Vnles it be in barnes and oute houses standinge alone, or some distance from houses, which be commonly knowne to them, As saint Quintens, thrée Cranes of the vintrey, Saynt Tybbes, and Knapsbery. These foure be with in one myle compasse neare vnto London. Then haue you iiij. more in Middlesex, drawe the pudding out of the fyre in Harrow on the hyll parish, *the* Crose Keyes in Cranford[1] parish, Saynt Iulyans in Thystell worth parish, the house of pyty in Northhall parysh. These are their chiefe houses neare about London, where commonly they resorte vnto for Lodginge, and maye repaire thether freelye at all tymes. Sometyme shall come in some Roge, some pyckinge knaue, a nymble Prygge; he walketh in softly a nightes, when they be at their rest, and plucketh of as many garmentes as be ought worth that he maye come by, and worth money, and maye easely cary the same, and runneth a waye with the same with great seleritye, and maketh porte sale at some conuenient place of theirs, that some be soone ready in the morning, for want of their Casters *and* Togem*a*ns. Where in stéede of blessinge is cursing; in place of praying, pestelent prating with odious othes *and* terrible threatninges. The vpright men haue geuen all these nycke names to the places aboue sayde. Y[e]t haue [leaf 25, back] we two notable places in Kent, not fare from London: the one is betwene Detforde and Rothered, called the Kynges barne, standing alone, that they haunt commonly; the other is Ketbroke, standinge by blacke heath, halfe a myle from anye house. There wyll they boldlye drawe the latche of the doore, and

[1] 1573 reads *Crayford.*

go in when the good man with hys famyly be at supper, and syt downe without leaue, and eate and drinke with them, and either lye in the hall by the fyre all night, or in *the* barne, if there be no rome in the house for them. If the doore be eyther bolted or lockt, if it be not opened vnto them when they wyl, they wyl breake the same open to his farther cost. And in this barne sometyme do lye xl. vpright men with their Doxes together at one time. And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten him to burne him, and all that he hath.

THE NAMES OF THE VPRIGHT MEN, ROGES, AND PALLYARDS.

HEre followeth the vnrulye rablement of rascals, and the moste notoryous and wyckedst walkers that are lyuinge nowe at this present, with their true names as they be called and knowne by. And although I set and place here but thre orders, yet, good Reader, vnderstand that all the others above named are derived and come out from the vpright men and Roges. Concerning the number of Mortes and Doxes, it is superfluous to wryte of them. I could well haue shewed it, but the number of them is great, and woulde aske a large volume.

¶ Vpright Men.

A	D.	E.
Anthony Hayward	Dowsabell alias Elizabeth Jackson.	Edward Dyer, a singing man.
Anthony Jackson.	Daniel Coles.	Edward Skinner, alias Ned Skinner.
B	Dycke Gilbert.	Edward Browne.
Bartlet.	Dycke Alexsander.	F.
Robert Cockbirds.	Daniel Edwardes.	Fellowship Hylles.
C	Daniel Holland.	Fardinando Angell.
Christopher Crockett.	Daniel Lewes.	Francis Dawghann.
Gilbert Crocker.		

(N. B. Contrary to Harley's, it is not alphabetical.)

G.

Gryffin.

Great Iohn Graye.

George Marrinar.

George Hutchinson.

H.

Hary Hylles, alias Harry godepar.

[leaf 26] Harry Agglyntine.

Harry Smyth, he driueleth when he speaketh.

Harry Ionson.

I.

Iames Barnard.

Iohn Myllar.

Iohn Walchman.

Iohn Iones.

Iohn Teddar.

Iohn Braye.

Iohn Cutter.

Iohn Bell.

Iohn Stephens.

Iohn Graye.

Iohn Whyte.

Iohn Rewe.

Iohn Mores.

Iohn a Farnando.

Iohn Newman.

Iohn Wyn, *alias* Wylliams.

Iohn a Pycons.

Iohn Tomas.

Iohn Arter.

Iohn Palmer, *alias* Tod.

Iohn Geffrey.

Iohn Goddard.

Iohn Graye the lytle.

Iohn Graye the great.

Iohn Wylliams the Longer.

Iohn Horwood, a maker of wels; he wyll take halfe his bargayne in hand, *and* when hée hath wrought ii. or iii. daies, he runneth away with his earnest.

Iohn Peter.

Iohn Porter.

Iohn Appowes.

Iohn Arter.

Iohn Bates.

Iohn Comes.

Iohn Chyles, *alias* great Chyles.

Iohn Leuet he maketh tappes and fausets.

Iohn Louedall, a maister of fence.

Iohn Louedale.

Iohn Mekes.

Iohn Appowell.

Iohn Chappell.

Iohn Gryffen.

Iohn Mason.

Iohn Humfrey, with the lame hand.

Iohn Stradling, with the shaking head.

Iohn Franke.

Iohn Baker.

Iohn Bascafeld.

K.

L.

Lennard Iust.

Long Gréene.

Laurence Ladd.

Laurence Marshall.

M.

N.

Nicolas Wilson.

Ned Barington.

Ned Wetherdon.

Ned holmes.

O.

P.

Phyllype Gréene.

Q.

R.

Robart Grauener.

Robart Gerse.

Robart Kynge.

Robart Egerton.

Robart Bell, brother to Iohn Bell.

Robart Maple.

Robart Langton.

Robyn Bell.

Robyn Toppe.

Robart Brownswerd, he werith his here long.

Robart Curtes.

Rychard Brymmysh.

Rychard Iustyce.

Rychard Barton.

Rychard Constance.
Rychard Thomas.
Rychard Cadman.
Rychard Scategood.
Rychard Apryce.
Rychard Walker.
Rychard Coper.

S.

Steuen Neuet.

T.

Thomas Bulloke. [leaf 26, back]
Thomas Cutter.
Thomas Garret.
Thomas Newton.
Thomas Web.
Thomas Graye, his toes be gonne.
Tom Bodel.
Thomas Wast.
Thomas Dawson *alias* Thomas Iacklin.
Thomas Basset.
Thomas Marchant.
Thomas Web.
Thomas Awefeld.
Thomas Gybbins.
Thomas Lacon.
Thomas Bate.
Thomas Allen.

V.

W.

Welarayd Richard.
Wylliam Chamborne.
Wylliam Pannell.
Wylliam Morgan.
Wylliam Belson.
Wylliam Ebes.
Wylliam Garret.
Wylliam Robynson.
Wylliam Vmberuile.
Wylliam Dauids.
Wyll Pen.
Wylliam Iones.
Wyll Powell.
Wylliam Clarke.
Water Wirall.
Wylliam Browne.
Water Martyne.[1]
Wylliam Grace.
Wylliam Pyckering.

ROGES.

A.

Archo Dowglas, a Scot.

B.

Blacke Dycke.

C.

D.

Dycke Durram.
Dauid Dew neuet, a counterfet Cranke.

E.

Edward Ellys.
Edward Anneley.

F.

G.

George Belberby.
Goodman.
Gerard Gybbin, a counterfet Cranke.

H.

Hary Walles, with the lytle mouth.
Humfrey ward.
Harry Mason.

I.

Iohn Warren.
Iohn Donne, with one legge.
Iohn Elson.
Iohn Raynoles, Iryah man.
Iohn Harrys.
Iames Monkaster, a counterfet Cranke.
Iohn Dewe.
Iohn Crew, with one arme.
Iohn Browne, great stamerar.

L.

Lytle Dycke.
Lytle Robyn.
Lambart Rose.

[1] Omitted in 1573 edit.

M.

More, burnt in the hand.[1]

N.

Nicholas Adames, a great stamerar.[2]

Nycholas Crispyn.

Nycholas Blunt *alias* Nycholas Gennings, a counterfet Cranke.

Nycholas Lynch.

R.

Rychard Brewton.

Rychard Horwod, well nere lxxx. yeares olde; he wyll byte a vi. peny nayle a sonder *with* his téeth, and a bawdye [leaf 27] dronkard.

Richard Crane; he carieth a Kynchne Co at his backe.

Rychard Iones.

Raffe Ketley.

Robert Harrison.

S.

Simon Kynge.

T.

Thomas Paske.

[3]Thomas Bere.

Thomas Shawnean, Irish man.

Thomas Smith, *with* the skald skyn.[3]

W.

Wylliam Carew.

Wylliam wastfield.

Wylson.

Wylliam Gynkes, with a whyte bearde, a lusty and stronge man; he runneth about the countrey to séeke worke, with a byg boy, his sonne carying his toles as a dawber or playsterer, but lytle worke serueth him.

¶ PALLYARDS.

B.

Bashford.

D.

Dycke Sehan Irish.

Dauid Powell.

Dauid Iones, a counterfet Crank.

E.

Edward Heyward, hath his Morte following him, which fained the Cranke.

Edward Lewes, a dummerer.

H.

Hugh Iones.

I.

Iohn Perse,[4] a counterfet Cranke.

Iohn dauids.

Iohn Harrison.

Iohn Carew.

Iames Lane, with one eye, Irish.

Iohn Fysher.

Iohn Dewe.

Iohn Gylford, Irish, *with* a counterfet lisence.

L.

Laurence with the great legge.

N.

Nycholas Newton, carieth a fained lisence.

Nicholas Decase.

[1] Omitted in 1573 ed. [2] Last three words omitted in 1573 ed.

[3] The 1573 ed. arranges these names in the following order :—

Thomas Béere.
Irish man.
Thomas Smith with the skalde skin.
Thomas Shawneam.

[4] The 1573 ed. reads *Persh*

a commission,
a shierte.

drawers,
hosen.

stampers,
shooes.

a mofling chete,
a napkyn.

a belly chete,
an apern.

dudes,
clothes.

a lag of dudes,
a bucke of clothes.

a slate or slates,
a shéete or shetes.

lybbege,
a bed.

bunge,
a pursse.

lowre,
monye.

mynt,
golde.

a bord,
a shylling.

halfe a borde,
sixe pence.

flagg,
a groate.

a wyn,
a penny.

a make,
a halfepeny.

bowse,
drynke.

bene,
good.

benshyp,
very good.

quier,
nought.

a gage,
a quarte pot.

a skew,
a cuppe.

pannam,[1]
bread.

cassan,
chéese.

yaram,[2]
mylke.

lap,
butter milke or whey.

[leaf 28] pek,
meate.

poppelars,
porrage.

ruff pek,
baken.

a grunting chete or a patricos kynchen,
a pyg.

a cakling chete,
a cocke or capon.

a margery prater,
a hen.

a Roger or tyb of the buttery,
a Goose.

a quakinge chete or a red shanke,
a drake or ducke.

grannam,
corne.

a lowhinge chete,
a Cowe.

a bletinge chete,
a calfe or shéepe.

a prauncer,
a horse.

autem,
a church.

Salomon,
a alter or masse.

patrico,
a priest.

nosegent,
a Nunne.

a gybe,
a writinge.

a Iarke,
a seale.

a ken,
a house.

a staulinge ken,
a house that wyll receaue stolen ware.

a bousing ken,
a ale house.

a Lypken,
a house to lye in.

a Lybbege,
a bedde.

glymmar,
fyre.

Rome bouse,
wyne.

lage,
water.

a skypper,
a barne.

strommell,
strawe.

a gentry cofes ken,
A noble or gentlemans house.

a gygger,
a doore.

[1] The 1573 ed. reads *Yannam*

[2] B. reads *yarum*. The 1573 ed. reads *Param*

bufe,
a dogge.

the lightmans,
the daye.

the darkemans,
the nyght.

Rome vyle,
London.

dewse a vyle,
the countrey.

Rome mort,
the Quene.

a gentry cofe,
a noble or gentleman.

a gentry morte,
A noble or gentle woman.

the quyer cuffyn,[1]
the Iusticer of peace.

the harman beck,
the Counstable.

the harmans,
the stockes.

Quyerkyn,
a pryson house.

Quier crampringes,
boltes or fetters.

tryninge,
hanginge.

chattes,
the gallowes.

the hygh pad,
the hygh waye.

the ruffmans,
the wodes or bushes.

a smellinge chete,
a garden or orchard.

crassinge chetes,
apels, peares, or anye other frute.

to fylche, to beate, to stryke, to robbe.[2]

to nyp a boung,
to cut a purse.

To skower the cramprings, [leaf 28, back]
to weare boltes or fetters.

to heue a bough,
to robbe or rifle a boweth.

to cly the gerke,
to be whypped.

to cutte benle,[3]
to speake gently.

to cutte bene whydds,
to speake or geue good wordes.

to cutte quyre whyddes,
to geue euell wordes or euell language.

to cutte,
to saye.

to towre,
to sée.

to bowse,
to drynke.

to maunde,
to aske or requyre.

to stall,
to make or ordaine.

to cante,
to speake.

to myll a ken,
to robbe a house.

to prygge,
to ryde.

to dup the gyger,
to open the doore.

to couch a hogshead,
to lye downe and sléepe.

to nygle,
to haue to do with a woman carnally.

stow you,
holde your peace.

bynge a waste,
go you hence.

to the ruffian,
to the deuell.

the ruffian cly the,
the deuyll take thée.

¶ The vpright Cofe canteth to the Roge.[4]

The vpright man speaketh to the Roge.

VPRIGHTMAN.[5]

Bene Lightmans to thy quarromes, in what lipken hast thou lypped in this darkemans, whether in a lybbege or in the strummell?

[1] *custyn*. B.
[2] For these two lines printed in small type, the 1573 edition reads,
To fylche
to robbe
[3] *benie*. B. [4] *Roger*. B. [5] *man*. B.

God morrowe to thy body, in what house hast thou lyne in all night, whether in a bed, or in the strawe?

ROGE.

I couched a hogshead in a Skypper this darkemans.
I layd[1] me downe to sléepe in a barne this night.

VPRIGHT MAN.[2]

I towre the strummel trine vpon thy nabchet[3] *and* Togman.
I sée the strawe hang vpon thy cap and coate.

ROGE.

I saye by the Salomon I will lage it of with a gage of benebouse; then cut to my nose watch.

I sweare by the masse[4], I wull washe it of with a quart of good drynke; [leaf 29][5] then saye to me what thou wylt.

MAN. Why, hast thou any lowre in thy bonge to bouse?
Why, hast thou any money in thy purse to drinke?

ROGE. But a flagge, a wyn, and a make.
But a grot, a penny, and a halfe penny.

MAN. Why, where is the kene that hath the bene bouse?
where is the house that hath good drinke?

ROGE. A bene mort hereby at the signe of the prauncer.
A good wyfe here by at the signe of the hors.

MAN. I cutt it is quyer buose, I bousd a flagge the laste dark mans.
I saye it is small and naughtye drynke. I dranke a groate there the last night.

ROGE. But bouse there a bord, *and* thou shalt haue beneship.
But drinke there a shyllinge, and thou shalt haue very good.

Tower ye yander is the kene, dup the gygger, and maund that is bene shyp.

Se you, yonder is the house, open the doore, and aske for the best.

[1] *laye*. B. [2] B. omits *vpright*. [3] *nabches*. B.
[4] *masst*. B. [5] This leaf is supplied in MS. in Mr Huth's edition.

MAN. This bouse is as benshyp[1] as rome bouse.

This drinke is as good as wyne.

Now I tower that bene bouse makes nase nabes.

Now I se that good drinke makes a dronken heade.

Maunde of this morte what bene pecke is in her ken.

Aske of this wyfe what good meate shee hath in her house.

ROGE. She hath a Cacling chete, a grunting chete, ruff Pecke, cassan, and popplarr of yarum.

She hath a hen, a pyg, baken, chese and mylke porrage.

MAN. That is beneshyp to our watche.

That is very good for vs.

Now we haue well bousd, let vs strike some chete.

Nowe we haue well dronke, let us steale some thinge.

Yonder dwelleth a quyere cuffen, it were beneship to myll hym.

Yonder dwelleth a hoggeshe and choyrlyshe man, it were very well donne to robbe him.

ROGE. Nowe bynge we a waste to the hygh pad, the ruffmanes is by.

Naye, let vs go hence to the hygh waye, the wodes is at hand.

MAN. So may we happen on the Harmanes, and cly the Iarke, or to the quyerken and skower quyaer cramprings, and so to tryning on the chates.

[leaf 29, back] So we maye chaunce to set in the stockes, eyther be whypped, eyther had to prison house, and there be shackled with bolttes and fetters, and then to hange on the gallowes.

Gerry gan, the ruffian clye thee.

A torde in thy mouth, the deuyll take thee.

MAN. What, stowe your bene, cofe, and cut benat whydds, and byng we to rome vyle, to nyp a bong; so shall we haue lowre for the bousing ken, and when we byng back to the deuseauyel, we wyll fylche some duddes of the Ruffemans, or myll the ken for a lagge of dudes.

What, holde your peace, good fellowe, and speake better wordes, and go we to London, to cut a purse; then shal we haue money for the ale house, and

[1] *good* in the 1573 ed.

when wee come backe agayne into the country, wee wyll steale some lynnen clothes of one[1] hedges, or robbe some house for a bucke of clothes.

¶ By this lytle ye maye holy and fully vnderstande their vntowarde talke and pelting speache, mynglede without measure; and as they haue begonne of late to deuyse some new termes for certien thinges, so wyll they in tyme alter this, and deuyse as euyll or worsse. This language nowe beinge knowen and spred abroade, yet one thinge more I wyll ad vnto, not meaninge to Englyshe the same, because I learned the same[2] of a shameles Doxe, but for the phrase of speche I set it forth onely.

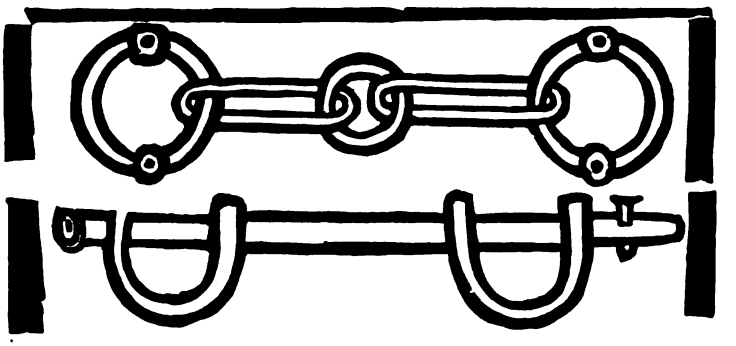
There was a proude patrico and a nosegent, he tooke his Iockam in his famble, and a wappinge he went, he dokte the Dell, hee pryge to praunce, he byngd a waste into the darke mans, he fylcht the Cofe, with out any fylch man.

WHyle this second Impression was in printinge, it fortuned that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter; *and* as the counstable and a nother would haue caried hym thether, This counterfet Cranke ran awaye, but one lyghter of fote then the other ouer toke hym, *and* so leading him to the counter, where he remayned three days, *and* from thence to Brydewell, where before the maister[3] he had his dysgysed aparell put vpon hym, which was monstrous to beholde, And after stode in Chepesyde with the same apparil on a scafold.[4]

A Stockes to staye sure, and safely detayne, [leaf 80]
Lasy lewd Leutterers, that lawes do offend,
Impudent persons, thus punished with payne,
Hardlye for all this, do meane to amende.

[1] The 1573 ed. has *some*
[2] Instead of "the same," the 1573 ed. reads *that*
[3] *maisters.* B.
[4] This paragraph is omitted in the ed. of 1573; but see note, *ante*, p. 56.

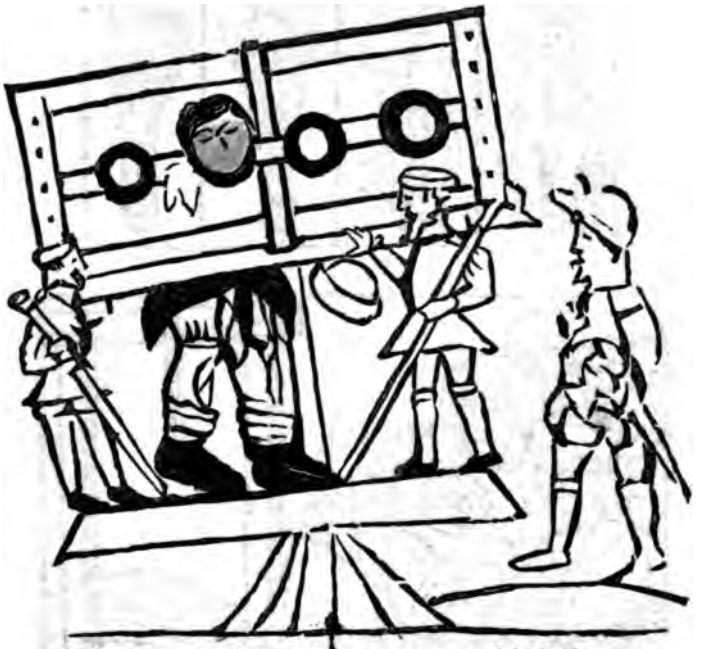
Fetters or shackles serue to make fast,
Male malefactours, that on myschiefe do muse,
Vntyll the learned lawes do quite or do cast,
Such suttile searchers, as all euyll do vse.



A whyp is a whysker, that wyll wrest out blood, [f 30, bk]
Of backe and of body, beaten right well.
Of all the other it doth the most good,
Experience techeth, and they can well tell.

¶ O dolefull daye! nowe death draweth nere,
Hys bytter styng doth pearce me to the harte.

I take my leaue of all that be here,
Nowe piteously playing this tragicall parte.
Neither stripes nor teachinges in tyme could conuert,
wherefore an ensample let me to you be,
And all that be present, nowe praye you for me.



[1] ¶ This counterfet Cranke, nowe vew and beholde,
Placed in pyllory, as all maye well se:
This was he, as you haue hard the tale tolde,
before recorded with great suttylte,
Ibused manye with his inpiete,
his lothsome attyre, in most vgly manner,
was through London caried with dysplayd banner.[2]

[1] B. omits this stanza and has inserted the following lines under the cut.
THis is the fygure of the counterfet Cranke, that is spoken of in this boke of Roges, called Nycholas Blunt other wyse Nycholas Gennyngs. His tale is in the xvii. lefe [pp. 55-6] of this booke, which doth showe vnto all that reades it, woundrous suttell and crafty deseit donne of *and* by him.

[2] This verse is omitted in the edition of 1573; also the wood-cut preceding it.

☞ Thus I conclude my bolde Beggars booke,
That all estates most playnely maye see,
As in a glasse well pollyshed to looke,
Their double demeaner in eche degree.
Their lyues, their language, their names as they be,
That with this warning their myndes may be warmed,
To amend their mysdeedes, and so lyue vnharmed.

FINIS.

¶ Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Faulcon by Wylliam gryffith. Anno Domni. 1567.[1]

[1] B. adds 'the eight of January'. (This would make the year 1568 according to the modern reckoning. Harman's 'New Yeares day last past, Anno domini 1567', p. 86, must also be 156⅞.)

A Sermon in Praise of Thieves and Thievery.

[*Lansdowne MS.* 98, *leaf* 210.]

A sermon made by P*ar*son Haben vppon a mold hill at Hartely Row,[1] at the Comaundment of vij. theves, whoe, after they had robbed him, Comaunded him to Preache before them.

I Marvell that eu*er*ye man will seme to dispraise theverye, and thinke the doers thereof worthye of Death, when it is a thinge that Cometh nere vnto vertve, and is vsed of all men, of all sort*es* and in all countryes, and soe comaunded and allowed of god himselfe; which thinge, because I cannot soe sapiently shewe vnto you a[2] soe shorte a tyme and in soe shorte a place, I shall desire you, gentle theves, to take in good p*ar*te this thinge that at this tyme Cometh to minde, not misdoubtinge but you of yo*ur* good knowledge are able to ad more vnto the same then this which I at this tyme shall shewe vnto you. ffirst, fortitude and stoutnes, Courage, and boldnes of stomacke, is Compted of some a vertue; which beinge graunted, Whoe is he then that will not Iudge theves vertuous, most stoute, most hardye? I most, withoute feare. As for stealinge, that is a thinge vsuall:—whoe stealeth not? ffor not only you that haue besett me, but many other in many places. Men, Woemen, *and* Children, Riche and poore, are dailye of that facultye, As the hange

[1] MS Rew. Hartley Row is on the South-Western road past Bagshot. The stretch of flat land there was the galloping place for coaches that had to make up time.

[2] *in*

A Sermon in Praise of Thieves and Thievery.

[*MS. Cott. Vesp.* A xxv. *leaf* 53.]

A sermon) of p*ar*son Hyberdyne w*hi*ch he made att the co*m*mande-mente of certen theves, aft*er* thay had Robbed hym, besyd*es* hartlerowe, in hamshyer, in the feld*es*, ther standinge vpo*n* a hyll where as a wynde myll had bene, in the p*re*sens of the theves *tha*t robbed hy*m*, as followithe.

the s*er*mon as followethe

I greatly merveill *tha*t any man wyll p*re*sume to dysprase theverie, *and* thynke the dooer*es* therof to be woorthy of deathe, consyderinge itt is a thynge that cu*m*ithe nere vnto vertue, beinge vsed of many in all contries, And co*m*mendid *and* allowed of god hym selfe; the w*hi*ch thinge, by-cause I cannot co*m*pendiously shew vnto yow at soo shorte a warnynge *and* in soo sharpe a wether, I shall desyer yow, gentle audiens of theves, to take in good p*ar*te thes thyng*es* that at thys tyme cu*m*ythe to my mynde, not mysdowtynge but *tha*t yow of yowre good knowledge are able to add mutch more vnto ytt the*n* this w*hi*ch I shall nowe vtter vnto yow. ffyrst, fortitude, *and* stowtnes of corage, *and* also bowldnes of minde, is co*m*mendyd of su*m*e men to be a vertue; w*hi*ch, beinge grawnted, who is yt then *tha*t wyll not iudge theves to be v*er*tused? for thay be of all men moste stowte *and* hardy, *and* moste w*ith*owte feare; for thevery is a thynge moste vsuall emonge all men, for not only yow that be here p*re*sente, but many other in dyu*er*se plac*es*, bothe men *and* wemen *and* chyldren, rytche and poore, are dayly of thys facultye,

man of Tiborne can testifye. That it is allowed of god himselfe, it is euident in many storyes of the Scriptures. And if you liste to looke in the whole Course of the bible, you shall finde that theves haue bin belovid of god. ffor Iacobe, when he Came oute of Mesopotomia, did steale his vncles lambes; the same Iacobe stale his brother Esawes blessinge; and that god saide, "I haue chosen Iacob and refused Esawe." The Children of Isarell, when they came oute of Egippe, didd steale the Egippsians Iewells and ring*es*, and god comaunded the[m] soe to doe. David, in the dayes of Ahemel[e]ch the preiste, came into the temple and stole awaye the shewe bread; And yet god saide, "this is a man accordinge to myne owne harte." Alsoe Christe himsellfe, when he was here vppon earth, did take an asse, a Colte, which was none of his owne. And you knowe that god saide, "this is my now*ne* sone, in whome I delighte."

Thus maye you see that most of all god delighteth in theves. I marvell, therefore, that men can despise y*our* lives, when that you are in all poynts almost like vnto Christe; for Christ hade noe dwellinge place,—noe more haue you. Christe, therefore, at the laste, was laide waite for in all places,—and soe are you. Christe alsoe at the laste was called for,—and soe shall you be. He was condemned,—soe shall you be. Christe was hanged,—soe shall you be. He descended into hell,—so shall you. But in one pointe you differ. He assendid into heaven,—soe shall you never, without gods mercye, Which god graunte for his mercyes sake! Toe whome, with the so*n*ne and the holye goste, be all hono*ur* and glory for euer and euer. Amen!

After this good sermon ended, which Edefied them soe muche, Theye hadd soe muche Compassion on him, That they gave him all his mony agayne, and vij s more for his sermon.

as the hangman of tyboorne can testyfye: and that yt is allowed of god hym selfe, as it is euydente in many storayes of [the] scriptur*es*; for yf yow looke in the hole cowrse of the byble, yow shall fynde that theves haue bene beloued of gode; for Iacobe, whan he came owte of Mesopotamia, dyd steale his vncle labanes kydd*es*; the same Iacobe also dyd steale his brothe[r] Esaues blessynge; *and* yett god sayde, "I haue chosen Iacobe *and* refused Esau." The chyldren of ysraeł, wha*n* they came owte of Egypte, dyd steale the egiptians iewell*es* of sylu*er* and gowlde, as god co*m*mawnded them soo to doo. Davyd, in the days of Abiather the hygh preste, did cu*me* into *th*e temple *and* dyd steale the hallowed breede; *and* yet god saide, "Dauid is a mañ euen after myne owne harte." Chryste hym selfe, whan he was here on the arthe, did take an asse *and* a cowlte *tha*t was none of hys; *and* yow knowe that god said of hym, "this is my beloued soone, in whome I delighte." thus yow may see that god delightithe in theves. but moste of ał I marveł *tha*t men can dispyse yow theves, where as in ał poynt*es* almoste yow be lyke vnto christe hym selfe: for chryste had noo dwellynge place; noo more haue yow. christe wente frome towne to towne; *and* soo doo yow. christe was hated of ał men, sauynge of his freend*es*; and soo are yow. christe was laid waite vpon in many plac*es*; *and* soo are yow. chryste at the lengthe was cawght; *and* soo shał yow bee. he was browght before the iudges; *and* soo shał yow bee. he was accused; *and* soo shał yow bee. he was condempned; *and* soo shał yow bee. he was hanged; *and* so shał yow bee. he wente downe into heł; *and* soo shał yow dooe. mary! in this one thynge yow dyffer frome hym, for he rose agayne *and* assendid into heauen; *and* soo shał yow neuer dooe, wi*th*owte god*es* greate mercy, w*hi*ch gode grawnte yow! to whome wi*th* the father, *and* the soone, *and* the hooly ghoste, bee ał honore and glorye, for eu*er* *and* eu*er*. Amen!

Thus his *ser*mon beinge endyd, they gaue hy*m* his money agayne that thay tooke frome hym, *and* ij^s^ to drynke for hys *ser*mon.

finis.

[*The parts added to* HARMAN'S CAUEAT *to make*]

THE

Groundworke of Conny-catching;

the manner of their Pedlers-French, and the meanes *to vnderstand the same, with the cunning slights* of the Counterfeit Cranke.

Therein are handled the practises of the *Visiter*, the Fetches of the Shifter and Rufflar, the deceits of their Doxes, the deuises of Priggers, the names of the base loytering Iosels, and the meanes of euery Blacke-Art-mans shifts, with the reproofe of all their diuellish practises.

Done by a Iustice of Peace of great authoritie, who hath had the examining of diuers of them.

Printed at London by Iohn Danter for William Barley, and are to be sold at his shop at the vpper end of Gratious streete, ouer against Leaden-hall, 1592.

[leaf 2]

To the gentle Readers health.

Gentle reader, as there hath beene diuers bookes set forth, as warnings for all men to shun the craftie coossening sleights of these both men and women that haue tearmed themselues Conny-catchers; so amongst the rest, bestow the reading ouer of this booke, wherin thou shalt find the ground-worke of Conny-catching, with the manner of their canting speech, how they call all things in their language, the horrible coossening of all these loose varlots, and the names of them in their seuerall degrees,

First, The Visiter.
2. *The Shifter.*
3. *The Rufflar.*
4. *The Rogue.*
5. *The wild Rogue.*
6. *A prigger of Prauncers.*
7. *A Pallyard.*
8. *A Frater.*
9. *An Abraham man.*
10. *A freshwater Marriner, or Whipiacke.*
11. *A counterfait Cranke.*
12. *A Dommerar.*
13. *A Dronken Tinkar.*
14. *A Swadder, or Pedler.*
15. *A Iarkeman & Patrico.*
16. *A demander for glimmar.*
17. *The baudy Basket.*
18. *An Autem Mort.*
19. *A walking Mort.*
20. *A Doxe.*
21. *A Dell.*
22. *Kinchin Mort.*
23. *A Kinchin Co.*

All these playing their coossenings in their kinde are here set downe, which neuer yet were disclosed in anie booke of Conny-catching.

[leaf 2, back] A new kind of shifting sleight, practised at this day by *some of this Cony-catching crue, in Innes or vitualling houses, but especially in Faires or Markets,* which came to my hands since the imprinting of the rest.

Whereas of late diuers coossening deuises and deuilish deceites haue beene discouered, wherby great inconueniences haue beene eschewed, which otherwise might haue beene the vtter ouerthrowe of diuers honest men of all degrees, I thought this, amongst the rest, not the least worthie of noting, especially of those that trade to Faires and Markets, that therby being warned, they may likewise be armed, both to see the deceit, and shun the daunger. These shifters will come vnto an Inne or vittailing house, that is most vsed in the towne, and walke vp and downe; and if there come any gentleman or other, to lay vp either cloke, sword, or any other thing woorth the hauing, then one of this crue taketh the marks of the thing, or at least the token the partie giueth them: anone, after he is gone, he likewise goeth forth, and with a great countenance commeth in againe to the mayde or seruant, calling for what another left: if they doubt to deliuer it, then hee frets, and calles them at his pleasure, and tels them the markes and tokens: hauing thus done, hee blames their forgetfulnes, and giues them a couple of pence to buy them pinnes, bidding them fetch it straight, and know him better the next time, wherewith they are pleasd, and he possest of his pray. Thus one gotte a bagge of Cheese the last Sturbridge Faire; for in such places (as a reclaimd fellow of that crue confessed) they make an ordinary practise of the same.

[*The Pedler's French* follows, taken word for word from Harman's book, p. 82-7 above.]

[leaf 5] THE VISITER.

An honest youth, not many yeares since, seruant in this City, had leaue of his master at whitsontide to see his friends, who dwelt some fifty miles from London. It hapned at a Country wake, his mother and hee came acquainted with a precise scholler, that, vnder colour of strickt life, hath bin reputed for that hee is not: hee is well

knowen in Paules Churchyard, and hath beene lately a visiting in Essex; for so he presumes to tearme his cosening walks: and therefore wee will call him here a Visiter. This honest seeming man must needes (sith his iourney lay to London) stay at the yong mans mothers all the holy daies: where as on his desert hee was kindly vsed; at length, the young man, hauing receiued his mother's blessing, with other his friendes giftes, amounting to some ten poundes, was to this hypocrite as to a faithful guide committed, and toward London they ride: by the way this Visiter discourses how excellent insight he had in Magick, to recouer by Art anything lost or stolne. Well, to sant Albons they reach; there they sup together, and, after the carowsing of some quarts of wine, they go to bed, where they kindly sleepe,—the Visiter slily, but the young man soundly. Short tale to make—out of his bed-fellow's sleeue this Visiter conuaid his twenty Angels, besides some other od siluer, hid it closely, and so fell to his rest. Morning comes—vp gets this couple—immediately the money was mist, much adoo was made; the Chamberlaine with sundry other seruants examined; and so hot the contention, that the good man, for the discharge of his house, was sending for a Constable to haue them both first searcht, his seruants Chests after. In the meane time the Visiter cals the yong man aside, and bids him neuer grieue, but take horse; and he warrants him, ere they be three miles out of towne, to helpe him to his money by Art, saying:—"In these Innes ye see how we shall be out-faced, and, beeing vnknowne, how euer we be wrongd, get little remedy." The yong man, in good hope, desired him to pay the reckoning, which done, together they ride. Being some two miles from the towne, they ride out of the ordinary way: there he tels this youth how vnwilling hee was to enter into the action, but that it was lost in his company, and so forth. Well, a Circle was made, wondrous words were vsed, many muttrings made: at length hee cries out,—"vnder a greene turfe, by the East side of an Oake; goe thither, goe thither." This thrice he cryed so ragingly, as the yuong man gest him mad, and was with feare almost beside himself. At length, pausing, quoth this Visiter, "heard ye nothing cry?" "Cry!" said the yong man, "yes; [leaf 5, back] you cride so as, for twise ten pound, I would not heare ye

again." "Then," quoth he, "'tis all well, if ye remember the words." The yong man repeated them. With that this shifter said, "Go to the furthest Oke in the high-way towards S. Albons, and vnder a greene turfe, on the hither side, lyes your mony, and a note of his name that stole it. Hence I cannot stirre till you returne; neyther may either of our horses be vntide for that time: runne yee must not, but keepe an ordinary pace." Away goes the yong man gingerly; and, being out of sight, this copesmate takes his cloke-bag, wherein was a faire sute of apparel, and, setting spurres to his horse, was, ere the Nouice returned, ridde cleane out of his view. The yong man, seeing himselfe so coossened, made patience his best remedie, tooke his horse, and came to London, where yet it was neuer his lucke to meet this visiter.

A SHIFTER.

A Shifter, not long since, going ordinarily booted, got leaue of a Carrier to ride on his owne hackney a little way from London, who, comming to the Inne where the Carier that night should lodge, honestly set vp the horse, and entred the hal, where were at one table some three and thirty clothiers, all returning to their seuerall countries. Vsing, as he could, his curtesie, and being Gentleman-like attirde, he was at all their instance placed at the vpper end by the hostesse. After hee had a while eaten, he fel to discourse with such pleasance, that all the table were greatly delighted therewith. In the midst of supper enters a noise of musitions, who with their instruments added a double delight. For them hee requested his hostesse to laye a shoulder of mutton and a couple of capons to the fire, for which he would pay, *and* then mooued in their behalfe to gather. Among them a noble was made, which he fingring, was well blest; for before he had not a crosse, yet he promist to make it vp an angel. To be short, in comes the reckoning, which (by reason of the fine fare *and* excesse of wine) amounted to each mans halfe crown. Then hee requested his hostesse to prouide so many possets of sacke, as would furnish the table, which he would bestow on the Gentlemen to requite their extraordinary costs: *and* iestingly askt if she would

make him her deputie to gather the reckoning; she graunted, and he did so: and on a sodaine, (faining to hasten his hostesse with the possets) he tooke his cloke, and, finding fit time, hee slipt out of doores, leauing the guestes and their hostesse to a new reckoning, *and* the musitians to a good supper, but they paid for the sauce. This iest some vntruly attribute to a man of excellent parts about London, but he is slandered: the party that performed it hath scarce any good qualitie to liue. Of these sort I could set downe a great number, but I leaue you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered.

[Then follows Harman's book, commencing with a Ruffelar, p. 29. The woodcut of Nicolas Blunt and Nicolas Geninges (p. 50, above) is given, and another one representing the Cranke after he was stripped and washed. The volume ends with the chapter "Their vsage in the night," p. 76-8 above,—the woodcuts and verses at the end of Harman's book being omitted in the present *Groundworke of Conny-catching*. The last words in the latter are, "And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten to burne him, and all that he hath."]

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